

THE SOCIAL STUDIES



A PERIODICAL
FOR TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

VOLUME XLIX, NUMBER 3

MARCH, 1958

When Men Are Free

**Citizenship Education Project
Teachers College, Columbia University**

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The Social Studies

VOLUME XLIX, NUMBER 3

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As the Editor Sees It

These are interesting days for educators who like a good philosophical fight. The perennial battle between the traditionalists and the progressives is entering a new and more exciting phase. We think also that it will be a more rewarding phase for the future of education, because it is drawing the attention of the solid middle rather than merely the shrill-voiced extremists and finger-pointers. The latter are still active, perhaps more than ever. But there are encouraging signs that constructive, rather than denunciatory, thinking is coming to the front. Books such as Woodring's *A Fourth of a Nation*, for instance, are of real value because they seek a philosophy of education based on a synthesis of the best in the traditional and modern concepts. To the extremists in both camps who have largely held the stage in the past, there appeared to be no place for any educational theories but their own, which are quite incompatible.

One of the most controversial problems is that of the high school curriculum, for it is at the secondary level that the diversities of learning ability, interest and goals become most apparent. Until that point there is fairly general agreement on what a child needs to learn, though there is wide difference of opinion on how to go about it. But it is assumed (in theory) that at the secondary level the common fundamentals have been mastered; what then should follow? The traditionalists say there should be a solid program of classical learning. The modernists advocate a program dedicated to teaching directly for life through "problem-solving," experiences, and vocational training. Both tend to ignore the needs of part of the secondary school population. The traditionalists have no program for the slow learner, while the modernist offers little for the above-average pupil to sink his teeth into.

It seems to us that what is needed most

is an expression of opinion by the general public, rather than by professional educators or scholars, of what they want as the end-product of a high school education. It will have to be conceded that the slow learner can be taught only what he is willing and able to absorb, and this will be chiefly of a vocational nature. But what do we really want the high school to do for the pupil with normal or superior abilities? As a member of the great American public, we would like to offer the following list of *minimum* specifications:

1. The ability to speak and write clearly and grammatically, to spell correctly, and to produce a good business letter.
2. A fondness for reading, some discrimination as to what is worth reading, and at least a nodding acquaintance with the great literature of the past.
3. A basic comprehension of the major movements or milestones in world history (nationalism, imperialism, the Renaissance, etc.) and a more detailed understanding of those in American history (the frontier, sectionalism, the New Deal, etc.).
4. The ability to identify and solve the kinds of problems involving numbers and spatial relations which are likely to occur in normal living.
5. An understanding of the scientific method, and a knowledge of the basic principles of elementary physics.
6. A sound understanding of our governmental principles and organization, and of the capitalist economic system.
7. A genuine respect for learning, for democratic principles, and for the world of ideas.
8. The ability to find satisfaction within the resources of one's own mind and hands.
9. The ability to identify, organize and logi-

(Continued on page 120)

The Folkways of Academic Snobbery

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Under the growing impact of science and technology, accelerated as it is by what Norbert Wiener has so aptly termed "the second industrial revolution," we are producing not only an increasing crop of specialists but also several new varieties of the same. Much of this professional proliferation tends also to produce a hierarchy of professional prestige, a hierarchy that pervades not only the technical intelligentsia but even more, American scholarship. As with all social hierarchies, the need to maintain status, to create social distance and to justify ego-involvements of one sort or another, sooner or later will give rise to intellectual snobbery. The forms which intellectual snobbery and intellectual intolerance take in academic life are fairly well concealed from the public and have certainly been neither catalogued nor described by many sociologists. The present article is an attempt to explore snobbery and intolerance in their more cryptic, academic forms, chiefly in the hope that if we focus a little light upon these, we may contribute somewhat to their diminution. A less modest expectation and a fuller exposé than we have produced here, would require several volumes on the subject and a research program with all the paraphernalia typical of the research enterprise. We shall therefore content ourselves with only a skimpy overview of the whole subject.

What forms, precisely, do intellectual snobbery and intolerance take in American scholarship? Most of us in academic life would not be sure of how to answer such a question. All of us, of course, are familiar with a good many scholars, some of whom are intellectual snobs in one sense or another or who are intellectually intolerant of points

of view too dis-similar to their own. Whether such unhappy attitudes characterize a simple majority of American scholars or a substantial minority can properly be settled only by a full-scale study of the social psychology of academic snobbery accompanied by all the trimmings of statistics, sampling and polling to which we have become accustomed. All of us are certainly aware that where "schools of thought" exist, notably in the behavioral sciences, holders of special viewpoints are only too ready to sneer and shout "dumkopf" at those who are without the partisan gates. However, there are subtler forms of academic snobbery and intellectual intolerance than these. An academic humanist like myself, now in my mid-forties, can remember (with a good deal of shame and mortification, to be sure) my own early intellectual snobberies and intolerances and my own easy tendency at the time to froth at those who would not don the strait-jackets I, myself, wore with so much pleasure. I was so sure that these strait-jackets were good for others too. Looking around me now, I find it painful, indeed, to see the persistence of such academic provincialism. Our academic provincialisms are not only a sign of our immaturity and incompleteness, but they are sadly out of place in the context of a world that calls more than ever for well-rounded personalities. In the "time of troubles" through which we are passing and in an age of expanding specialization, people turn increasingly to the technician and scholar for enlarged understanding and help. The balanced outlook and the willingness "to see life steadily and see it whole" are now more urgently needed than ever before. Can we expect these from the scholarly snobs in our

midst who have to deal with laymen? Such scholars show little consideration of the values, needs and outlooks of their own colleagues. Where fear and public discretion do not restrain them, they tend to make short shrift, indeed, of the layman who possesses even less of the "pedantic grace" they make so much of, than their own colleagues.

We can do little as yet to eliminate academic snobbery and intolerance. Our age needs, perhaps, a new Desiderius Erasmus who can make himself felt and whose weight and influence can shame our academic snobs into silence, particularly where they persist in advancing their own peculiar brands of Original Sin. Though we cannot do much to convert these heathen we can at least remind one another and the intelligent layman of the more subtle forms which academic snobbery and intolerance take in our time. Since this task is the *raison d'être* of this paper, I propose here to draw up a brief catalogue of some of the current mutant and persistent forms of such snobbery and intolerance. In effect this will be my "*J'accuse*." If such a catalogue prompts even one academic snob to beat his breast and shout "*mea culpa*," my purpose will have been served. One preliminary warning to the reader: when I assert something below about any professional category like "statistician," "psychologists," "philosophers," etc., I shall always refer to some or many members of these categories but, of course, never all. If a remark seems to subsume too many individuals within its scope, the reader shall have to blame it on such figures of speech as an essay always invokes.

One of the most vicious forms of academic snobbery that we may note in our time is the tendency for one specialist to look down his nose at another. In academic life we find a veritable "specialty hierarchy" in this connection, which takes many forms. The most pronounced is the so-called "academic ladder." First, on top of Academic Mountain, we have the mathematician haughtily surveying his struggling colleagues in the physical sciences who must perch on a ledge

which will forever lie below the top. Too often he exhibits only contempt and derision for those who perforce have to treat mathematics as an adjunct skill. The elect are only those who deal with pure structure. All of us, I suppose, have met mathematicians whose fondest hope appears to be that someday they may pioneer a branch of mathematics which no one will be able to apply usefully to anything for at least a millenium. The spirit that moves a scholar of this type is clearly the conviction that only one swimming-hole is best and anyone choosing to bathe elsewhere is an unclean animal. The rejected brethren in the physical sciences, not to be outdone, displace the wrath of the gods upon themselves, by hurling jibes and venting their venom at those who disport themselves in the behavioral and social sciences. The workers in these much maligned areas are sometimes amused but more often irritated with those who labor in the humanities and our devotees of literature and the fine arts spread the "chain reaction of contempt" to those upstarts in academic life who are the apostles of materialism in the sacred realm of ideas, namely, the gentry in such mundane and practical disciplines as management, accounting, market research and business administration. There is still, however, room at the bottom of the barrel for the "untouchables." As a result the "Babbitts of the academic world" thumb their noses at the pedagogues who, in terms of current, collective prejudices, are incompetent and without any subject matter and, as everyone knows, spend their time "teaching teachers how to teach teachers to teach." All of the preceding, with the irony that springs from a militant separatism, receive their come-uppance from those members of the traditional professions who are active in the workaday world, doctors, lawyers, engineers, etc. Many of these are quite sure that "those who can, do, and those who can't, teach."

Finally for all the professionals, academic and otherwise, there is a class of pariahs, of footmen hanging on to the coattails of the

distinguished officialdom of learning. These are the lay popularizers in the pastures of learning. Prejudices towards these extend with particular force towards those cultivators who have never been blighted with a Ph.D. and who yet insist upon poaching in the vineyard. Yet I sometimes note with amusement a colleague who, having expressed his irritation at lay popularizers in his own field, will stealthily steal off into a corner to read some lay best-seller in another field, this apparently being the cheapest and quickest way of acquainting himself with the labors therein. Thus do we welcome the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, so long as they carry on, on the other side of the fence.

This "academic ladder" of snobbery possesses, however, a wheels-within-wheels motif. There are other forms of intolerance and snobbery that cut across the ladder. Thus we have the occasional infantilisms which crop up when the pure mathematician looks down his nose at the applied mathematician, and when both of these look down upon the statistician. As would be expected, these latter are also bifurcated between pure and applied and share a similar disorder of the spirit. Within physics and chemistry we have a lingering snobbery between those in fundamental research and those in applied and industrial research. In the Snobs Club for psychologists who are a special breed unto themselves, we have a veritable Tower of Babel. Childishness really reaches its heights here. The experimental psychologist, using this phrase in the narrow sectarian sense of one who spends his time in a laboratory with instruments or rats, or both, refuses to rub shoulders with those psychologists who constitute the "lesser breeds." The lesser breeds are often chiefly composed of theoretical psychologists. In a recent article in the new journal, *Behavioral Science*, Richard L. Meier¹ characterizes lowbrow snobbery of this type.

"Among the scientists and engineers one can conveniently label most of the informal circles that exist for work and play, or just

plain sociability, as being either highbrow, middlebrow, or lowbrow. . . . Among the highbrows it is the quality of the idea that counts, its verve, imagination, and other rather shocking features that set the mind to racing in altogether new directions. . . . The middlebrows are less impressed—they demand theories that are unambiguous and will guide experiments they have already planned. . . . *Lowbrows seldom read the scientific journals likely to contain theoretical developments—they are narrow specialists whose greatest skill is often found at the tips of their fingers—so their circles are barely aware of the conceptual changes being formulated. . . .*" (italics mine)

No truer word was ever spoken. At the time of this writing a rumor was current that *some* experimental psychologists, hoping to preserve their elite professional status, were intending to dissociate themselves from all other sections of the American Psychological Association. Within this Snobs Club the psychometrician may frequently express his irritation, usually off the record, of course, with the less rigorous procedures of the social psychologist who follows suit by throwing up his hands in despair at industrial and personnel psychology. Meanwhile, *mise en scene* all the preceding combine forces to make the clinical psychologist an outcast who "is still wet behind the ears." The latter, however, is unworried for, temporarily, his stock is high and the lay public is more than willing to cover the margin, should it show signs of slipping. This Hobbesian war of each against all among these inbred specialisms, is a strong undercurrent invisible to the busy worker outside of some given area and even less obvious to the intelligent layman on the farther shores.

We turn now to a rather significant type of snobbery in American scholarship, namely, the contempt of the specialist and the non-specialist for each other. To the man concerned with the protein composition of the posterior portion of the left antenna of a particular species of ant, the scholar who acts as an integrative interpreter, whether as a professional philosopher or as a critic of ideas, is anathema and should be read out

of the party. It is felt that he survives because there are so many ignorant but appreciative laymen. To the philosopher and critic of ideas, the painstaking work of the scholar whose studies in minutiae are the steps which advance a discipline, seems unimportant. To the global thinker who operates from on high, the specialist who expands his energies on detail and who derives passionate satisfaction in the process, is immature intellectually, dried up and narrow, with no vision of the breadth of the human spirit, and no ability to capture the beauty and significance of the broad canvas which is man. A corollary "snobismus" to that involving the interaction of specialist and non-specialist, is that of the monograph and paper producer who hardly conceals his disdain for his colleague who is *merely a good teacher* or only a *textbook writer*.

Another unhappy form of academic snobbery is that of the professional who looks down upon the amateur. We so frequently encounter the snide remarks of the astronomer who feels that the enthusiastic amateur is merely a "star gazer." I have heard of a botanist at one of the largest universities in this country who regularly consults an amateur on plant genetics, uses the advice received, and then shakes his head sadly and derisively over the labors of this particular amateur who refuses to submit to formal training. Some of the worst venom is often turned against the journalist turned historian. Such an upstart turns the stomachs of academic historians who generally rationalize their snobbery by insisting that the daily professional habits of the itinerant foreign correspondent or domestic radio commentator, unfits these individuals for the painstaking research and objectivity of the professional historian. Habits are, however, situational, and many of us can achieve sufficient intellectual ambi-dexterity to meet the requirements of both journalistic and scholarly tasks, as the occasion requires. Besides, the historical work of the journalist should be judged on its merits and not on the previous occupational condition of servi-

tude of its creator. It should be read, if this is possible, as though it had been turned out by an academic historian with a Ph.D. who had never sullied himself in any journalistic enterprise.

A corollary form of snobbery to the preceding is intradisciplinary rather than interdisciplinary. This takes the form of mutually exercised and accepted pedantry within a given field. We thus have the familiar sight of the scholar who feels so superior over the fact that his colleague is unfamiliar with a paper, an author, a skill or an allied field. It is a sad commentary to note that so many scholars have to obtain their ego satisfactions by keeping a paper or two ahead of the next man. Here is a Veblenian form of conspicuous display in the kingdom of the mind which not only reflects humanistic immaturity but probably owes as much to the competitive atmosphere surrounding work in our society, as it does to anything else. Were learning genuinely loved for its own sake it would, of course, not be used to create invidious distinctions and make odious comparisons. It would be a product to be shared rather than a badge of distinction to be worn. The race is to the swift, to be sure, if rewards are to be distributed socially, but even a lead runner recognizes that the others have also covered ground. The necessity of having to share unequal slices of the pie of distinction does not mean that we have to look upon our neighbor who received a smaller share than we did, as a starveling.

Then, of course, we have the snobbery of the schools. Here we have the traditional schisms that beset academic life. The quantitatively inclined sociologist has no patience with his descriptive sidekick who clings to the *verstehende* tradition. The latter in turn feels that the facts-and-figures sociologist suffers from a severe character disorder, in that he cannot see the forest for the trees. Furthermore, he feels that the "parameter and equation" boys, to use a mouth-filling phrase coined by one of my colleagues, are completely bullheaded in failing to recognize the place of values in a world of facts. The

experimental psychologist of the fact-grubbing variety is fed up with the theoretical psychologist. To him the model builder is a man who wants to climb a 10-foot ladder, using only two rungs. He is constantly trying to construct systems out of a rag, a hank of hair and a clothespin. The theorist is equally blunt. He sees in the steady gatherer of facts, a prosaic and unimaginative mind, and one too untempered, too unanalytical and too narrow in the scope of his interests, to appreciate the integrative challenge of theory building and the scope for intellectual closure which it represents. Similar two-way snobberies exist in other academic fields. In academic life it will not be long before we meet the logical positivist who cannot stomach the "wild and wooly" speculative philosophers. The "wild and wooly" speculative philosophers are, in turn, fed up with the sectarian prejudices and destructive preoccupation with language, which characterize the logicians and methodologists. We also have these controversial parallels in economics. The mathematical economist has no patience with the institutional and the non-mathematical economist² and the latter believes that the former dwells in a cloud-cuckoo land in which the resemblance of the ideal activities studied therein to the going behavior of flesh and blood men of the market, is purely coincidental. The "realist" in political science concerned with the actual behavior of social power groups, is completely fed up with the neatly organized classifications of power structures, put forward by the ivory-tower political scientist who has never had to handle men.³ Naturally the ivory-tower political scientist returns the compliment. He sees the "realist" as an Aristotelian too much concerned with the art of the possible and with little appreciation of the structural possibilities in human relations and their welfare implications. No matter where we turn the conflagration rages. In philosophy it is atomism versus holism, in biology, mechanism versus vitalism, in psychology, the nomothetic versus the idiographic outlook, and in sociology, the

partisans of the logico-empirical versus the *verstehende* approach. As usual, there is something of value to both sides of these hoary controversies, as well as something silly. However, it would not take a dispassionate man from Mars very long to unearth the element of "snobismus" that moves many of the bitterest protagonists on both sides of these issues, and the even more covert ego-element of trying to satisfy status needs by the creation of intellectual in-groups and out-groups. How much time has been lost through the ages and bitterness wasted in the history of ideas and in the progress of learning via the controversies of the schools, we shall never know. This infantilism, however, has been with us for centuries. I suppose it takes an individual endowed with a natural benevolence and a liking for people, to be fairly immune to the virus of this type of snobbery.

More obvious but thereby not necessarily less excusable is that prevalent academic sin of pedantry. This is the old Baconian pride of intellect. We here have in mind the scholar who looks down his nose at inquiring minds and passionate spirits less learned than himself. Because he proposes to play God he will brook no traffic with others unless they permit him to lay down the law which states how much a man must know before he will deign to share his wisdom and brilliance. This attitude is, of course, only a disguised form of asking for admiration in the only way in which he will never get it. It is always interesting and amusing to note the childish resentment and ruffling of dignity which occur when, he, himself, is on the receiving end of the same nasty treatment by one even more erudite than himself. In the scholar of this ilk, the humility which all our great religions speak of and advocate, is conspicuous by its absence. The type of immaturity and snobbery which we have to deal with here, fails to recognize that knowledge is to be shared and used to fan the flame of the human spirit. The pedantic type of snob lacks sufficient sense of union and kinship with his fellow-man to share knowledge

amicably for the growth-promoting potentialities it has for others. Instead of erudition being worn lightly it is at all times worn self consciously. For the pedant learning is a technique for separatism and differentiation. Such an attitude inverts the sentiment which should underlie intellectual enterprise when common to a group of seekers.

Perhaps the most irritating of all academic intolerance is the snobbery of cultism. The cultist deliberately imposes barriers to communication. He does not ask of another "What kind of heart and mind does he have?" but rather "Is he one of us?" "Is he a Ph.D. like ourselves?" "Is he a member of the XYZ?" "Is he in academic life?" These and similar questions, often only covertly indicated, betray the real motivation which may be present. However, when the province of exclusiveness narrows down to a shared enthusiasm in which outsiders become ridiculous barbarians, then we have cultism at its wretched worst. We may then have a clique composed of a few English teachers and their intellectual lackeys who feel so superior to anyone unfamiliar with Empson and categorical criticism, or perhaps the current god is Kenneth Burke or I. A. Richards. Who the divinity is, is unimportant. Then, too, we may have the clique in the philosophy department for which Neo-Thomism is the only salvation, or perhaps its members find themselves superciliously amused at people deluded enough to think they can philosophize when they have not read Sartre, Heidegger, Jaspers and other "fin de quarantes" philosophies of despair. The field of psychology lends itself admirably to splinter cults, worshipping under some great man's shadow, who despair of those who have failed to realize that so and so has finally seized truth by the tail for all time. *Credo quia novissimum*, seems to be the watchword here. Nor must we forget the little cults of sociologists who wrap themselves up with a single figure, perhaps Durkheim or Weber or Pareto, and spend the rest of their time writing sociological encyclicals and hurling papal bulls at one

another And so it goes. No field in the humanities and social sciences seems free of cultist pretensions. Scholars of this ilk do not want communication to be universal. They want clubs, the smaller, the better. *Sic transit gloria eruditionis*.

One of the more amazing species of intolerance is that of the academic specialist who bitterly resents the accredited non-specialist. By an accredited non-specialist I refer to the independent writer who puts in time and effort at non-literary composition and research all the time but is not affiliated with any academic enterprise and is not an *aficionado* of any school. He is not the foreign correspondent or journalist who has written a book. Examples of the species I have in mind would be Avram Scheinfeld and John Gunther. The criticism many scholars have of this type is that the accredited non-specialist touches upon problems for which he is not equipped. It is felt that he can only mislead the world of scholarship and the intelligent lay public. Thus when Gunther's *Inside Africa* appeared, praise from lay critics was extensive while specialists in the field damned it openly or with faint praise, or made sallies against it of a picayune nature. Here and there specialists sought to tear Gunther apart for factual slips. There is no gainsaying the fact that such slips were made. The tendency, however, was to overlook the labor involved and the scope of the subject, which made such slips inevitable. The assets of Gunther's volume should also have been played up. This was seldom done by the type of academic reviewer who resents accredited non-specialists. Then, too, Gunther's volume was a free-lance *tour de force* and not meant to be a contribution to scholarship. Nevertheless specialists criticised it as if it had been intended as a work of scholarship. The mental set with which many academic critics approached Gunther's volume was definitely one of refined hostility. Were they to approach the work of a colleague in this same vein, it would be equally easy to provide errata and corrigenda.

Finally I wish to mention the intolerance which arises from looking for a colleague's liabilities rather than his assets. Criticism in this vein frequently takes the form of what the logician calls the "fallacy of selection." To emphasize a colleague's debits and pass over his virtues is certainly not the way to make an equitable assessment. It is snide, particularistic, and biased in the extreme. It is an inverted form of academic snobbery exercised by refusing to look at the work of a colleague in terms of his abilities, level of operation, and objectives. Instead, criticism takes the irritating form of seeming to say "This is not what I would have written. He should have aimed higher (sometimes it is 'lower')." Therefore it is not what Professor ——— should have written. Therefore it is both worthless and unsound." This entire outlook is foreign to fairness and to the furtherance of understanding among scholars. It is unworthy of what should be the maturity of learning.

Is there any salvation for these various forms of intellectual snobbery? I believe there is. First we have to realize the cogency of Whitehead's⁴ remarks concerning the scholar's "trained incapacity" and "occupational psychosis" and on the scholar's readiness to preserve his ignorance of subjects highly related to his own specialty. Whitehead remarks:

"This situation has its dangers. It produces minds in a groove. Each profession makes progress, but it is progress in its own groove. Now to be mentally in a groove is to live in contemplating a given set of abstractions. The groove prevents straying across country, and the abstraction abstracts from something to which no further attention is paid. But there is no groove of abstraction which is adequate for the comprehension of human life. . . .

"The dangers arising from this aspect of professionalism are great, particularly in our democratic societies. The directive force of reason is weakened. The leading intellects lack balance. They see this set of circumstances, or that set; but not both sets together."

I believe the answer to intellectual snobbery, intolerance concerning scholarly articles of faith, and the tendency to fragment the field of learning by further specialization, lies in the interdisciplinary approach. The operational research teams that are now so prevalent are a useful social invention to counteract the strong tendencies toward intellectual partitioning. Another would be the appearance of more journals which stress the inter-disciplinary approach to scholarship. The first such journal, specifically devoted to the interdisciplinary approach, is the new periodical, *Behavioral Science*. The faith that moves the enthusiasts of this approach can be given in a quotation from the editorial of the first issue.

"Many different approaches have been used in the study of behavior—mathematical biology, biochemistry, physiology, genetics, medicine, psychiatry, psychology, sociology, economics, politics, anthropology, history, philosophy, and others. Though the term 'interdisciplinary' is widely current, and for a long time efforts at collaboration have been made, true unification of these fields still remains an unattained goal. And within each are various schools. Their approaches and skills are specific, but the problems are general. Can the scientific method solve the larger, more pervasive questions about man as well as the smaller, more particular ones? Is the tool with which man has won his victories over the physical world applicable to uncovering the laws which govern man's conduct, the deepest causes of our strife and our harmony? If the fragments of multiple sciences were brought together in a unitary behavioral science and all the separate skills focused on the study of human behavior, perhaps the time required to find answers to these questions could be reduced. It is possible that inadequacies in the present studies of man could thus be avoided. The uniformities among disciplines could be recognized; better communication among them established; generality of findings magnified; additional benefits derived from comparing theories in diverse fields; explaining both similarities and differences; and the validity and applicability of empirical work increased by planning individual studies as components of an explicit mosaic of research strategy."⁵

I feel certain that, though not the only answer, a sense of the unity of science and of working for or with an interdisciplinary atmosphere, will help to break down the walls of academic snobbery. When your neighboring colleague's floodwaters move in, it is difficult to claim that only you are on dry land. And when, to save ourselves, we all have to ply the oars and row forward, we shall find it difficult to create an intellectual caste system in a narrow skiff, when we have the wide waters all around us to contend with.

¹ Meier, Richard L., "Communications And Social

Change." *Behavioral Science*, 1956, 1, 35-58.

² For an interesting controversy in this connection and a revelation of attitudes, see *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 36, November, 1954. The articles in question are Mathematics: Logic, Quantity, and Method by David Novick and Mathematics in Economics: Discussion of Mr. Novick's article by several authors.

³ The realist in political science is likely to favor such a work as Lincoln Steffens, "The Shame Of The Cities," where his reading is serious. Where it is light he is likely to give the stamp of approval to a novel such as Edwin O'Connor's "The Last Hurrah."

⁴ Whitehead, A. N. *Science And The Modern World*. London: Penguin Books Limited, 1938. (Pelican Books) 246 pp.

⁵ The Editors. Editorial: "Behavioral Science, A New Journal." *Behavioral Science*. Vol. 1, No. 1, January, 1956. Pp. 1-5.

The Indian General Election of 1957

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The largest elections ever to occur in the free world were held in India from February 24th to March 14th, 1957. The total number of eligible voters was approximately 193,000,000, and over half of this eligible electorate went to the polls. In this impressive exercise of mass suffrage the Indian people elected 494 members to a five-year term in the lower house of their national parliament, or *Lok Sabha* as it is called. They also elected 3,102 members to new terms in the various state legislatures of the Indian republic. The statistics in this election were staggering. Over 500 million paper ballots were printed, and over a million election officials were trained to take charge of the polling. Nearly 300,000 steel ballot boxes were utilized.

Among the enormous problems confronting the Indian government in this election was the fact that the great majority of the voters could not read or write. Approximately 80% of the people of India are illiterate, and only 1% of the 365 million population are high school graduates. The large number of illiterate voters posed special

problems for the election officials. Those who could not write their signatures were required to make a thumb-print. But a voter who cannot read can recognize a picture or a symbol on the ballot. Hence the government allotted election symbols to the various parties or independent candidates. The Congress Party was represented by two bullocks, the familiar animals used for farm work and transportation, and the Communist Party was pictured by a sickle. Other parties or individuals were represented by pictures of lions, elephants, cocks, camels, flowers, village huts, boats, bicycles, bows and arrows, and other symbols.

In most areas of India, the heaviest vote was recorded in the poorer sections of the community, the lightest vote in the more prosperous sections. The number of polling stations was generally sufficient, no voter having to travel more than 3-4 miles, on the average, to reach the station. Political parties were not allowed to canvass within a hundred yards of the station, and candidates could not use vehicles to fetch voters.

Government employees, teachers and officials of local government bodies were employed as polling officers. Schoolrooms, inspection bungalows and other government buildings were utilized as polling stations where available. The voters stood patiently in queues, often the men in one line and the women in another. The illiterate voters generally cast their ballots with apparent understanding of the process. In some backward areas, however, instead of putting their ballots through the slits in the ballot boxes, the voters laid them on top, thereby invalidating their vote. In some polling stations in rural areas the voters placed small sacred coins or sacred rice in the boxes with the ballots. The newspapers reported cases of impersonation arising from a mistaken sense of duty when fathers and mothers, busy in agricultural work, sent their sons or daughters to cast votes on their behalf. Some rural husbands insisted on having an additional vote recorded for their wives who could not come to vote in person.

In some districts there was evidence that zamindars, or landlord candidates, intimidated their tenants into voting in their favor. In certain underprivileged urban areas there was free distribution of food supplies and saris and dhotis—the standard female and male dress. There were some instances of the use of transport for carrying voters to the polls. It was also charged in the newspapers that some candidates were exceeding the limits on election expenditures set by the law.¹ For the most part, however, this largest election of the free world was genuinely free. The polling went smoothly, conducted in an atmosphere of peace and order. The newspapers recorded comparatively few examples of disorder, violence or fraud.

The great diversities within India were reflected among the people waiting their turn at the polling stations. In Rajasthan in semi-desert country the voters rode in from their remote homes on the backs of camels. In Andhra, in jungle areas on the East coast, the voters used elephants for transportation. In Assam and other sections of the Hima-

layas, tribal peoples walked as long as three days to get to the polls. Some of them celebrated their first taste of democracy by staging festive tribal dances the night before the day of voting.² In some of the more orthodox Muslim centers special polling stations were set aside for women, as it was not considered proper for them to vote in the same places as the men. Throughout India the Muslim women came to the polls in their *burkhas*, or tent-like garments which cover them from head to foot, with only tiny slits of embroidery through which the wearer can peer at the outside world. Some of the women refused to tell the election officials the name of their husband—as this was considered by them to be immodest. In fact, so strong was their protest that in certain parts of the country orders were issued to election officials not to question them on this point. The newspapers reported some instances in which the women went to the polling booths, with their numerous children, as to a holy festival.³ They prayed before a small shrine, then removed their sandals before entering the booths, to walk barefoot as they would in a temple.

The campaign period in India is much shorter than in the United States. All nominations had to be filed by February 4th preceding the nineteen day period, beginning February 24th, during which the voting took place in the various states. In a few snow-bound regions of the Himalayas the voting was postponed to May or June, on account of weather conditions.

In the electioneering process open air meetings were common, with speeches by the various candidates. Jeeps, lorries and other vehicles were utilized as platforms. Occasionally these meetings were disturbed by hecklers or groups of shouting young men moved by irrepressible partisan spirits, but the crowds were generally well-behaved and the audiences seemed to give the speakers a patient hearing. Processions, accompanied by shouting of slogans and gramophone records played on loud-speakers, kept the electorate awake at night in urban com-

munities. Placards on buildings and on the sides of buses, lorries and rickshaws, slogans written on walls of compounds, singing squads, house-to-house canvassing, touring in caravans in rural areas, the distribution of pamphlets and manifestos—all were included among the campaign techniques. Because of the high percentage of illiteracy, visual propaganda was heavily utilized. One Independent candidate, with a camel as his election symbol, rode through the streets of Delhi with a procession of camels, the candidate himself perched astride the first camel. Another candidate, with an elephant as his election symbol, rode about seated on an elephant which had been trained to go through an act of picking up a paper ballot and depositing it in a ballot box.

The Congress Party posters made full use of portraits of Prime Minister Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi, seeking to identify the party and its candidates with these hallowed figures. The Congress Party had the strongest and most widespread organization for electioneering purposes, although outmatched in discipline and organizational efficiency by the Communists in a few areas.

There is only one genuinely national party, the Congress Party, which is organized and active in all sections of India. It has great prestige and influence because for many decades it led the movement for dominion status within the British Commonwealth, and later on, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, its goal became complete independence from British rule. Its leaders framed the Constitution of the Indian Republic and they guided India successfully during the first decade of its independence. During the 1957 election campaign the Congress leaders reminded the voters that a little over 10 years ago India was only a colony, whereas now, under the continuous leadership of the Congress Party, it had become one of the important nations of the world, recognized by positions of honor in the United Nations and other international organizations.

Since the attainment of independence in

1947 the Congress, as the ruling party in India, has advocated and carried through a program which may be described as "parliamentary socialism." This program has included the nationalization of basic industries, construction by the government of great power and irrigation projects, the breaking up of many large landholdings, security of tenure for tenants and tillers of the soil, the encouragement of cooperative farming, the extension of public education, the rehabilitation and re-settlement of millions of refugees from Pakistan, and the improvement of village life through the Community Development projects which have attracted attention throughout the world. Under Congress Party leadership, India has completed her first Five-Year Plan and has now embarked on a second plan even more ambitious than the first. The Congress Party's greatest asset in the 1957 election was the absence of alternative party leadership in which people could place as much confidence.

In far more constituencies than was the case in the first general election of 1952, the Congress Party candidates were opposed in 1957 by "independents." But, on closer examination, many of the so-called independents were revealed to be disappointed office-seekers who failed to secure endorsement as official candidates from the Congress Party. The Congress leaders still maintain a tight hold over the party organization, picking and choosing the men and women who run on their ticket, and rebellious independents in a number of constituencies raised cries of "central party dictatorship." Some of the independents, also, announced their candidacies on the ground that they represented certain segments of the electorate, such as the refugees or religious groups, who failed to secure representation among the nominees of the contesting parties.

There are three other political parties of significance, the Praja Socialists, the Jana Sangh and the Communists, but not one of them is strong enough to form a genuine two party system. Most important is the Praja

Socialist Party, or PSP as it is popularly termed, which broke away from the Congress Party after the death of Mahatma Gandhi. The PSP differs from the Congress Party only to a minor extent, so far as program is concerned. It advocates a more extensive nationalization of industries, the widest possible re-distribution of land, and more forceful measures to remove barriers of caste and other forms of social and economic privilege.

The Jana Sangh, a rightist group, is established chiefly in Northern India. Although advocating public ownership of key industries, it professes a sympathy for the encouragement of private enterprise under state regulation. Its candidates in the 1957 election campaign stressed the revival of Hindu culture and in some instances displayed nationalistic attitudes amounting to anti-foreignism. In the Delhi District the Jana Sangh leaders advocated a program which included the prohibition of all imports of beef into Delhi, the replacement of English street signs by signs in Hindi, and the removal of all statues of foreigners and the substitution of statues of Indians.

All the parties of any significance, including the Communists, agreed that the economic development of the country must come through government operation and government planning. All parties promised nationalization of basic industries, to give land to the landless peasants, and to place a ceiling on the number of acres to be owned by one person. The Congress Party promised to achieve these things gradually, the Communists insisted that they be done at once. The campaign issues, under these circumstances, centered largely on the past record of the Congress Party and the need for an effective opposition if Indian parliamentary democracy is to survive. The opposition parties pointed out that unemployment was still a major problem, and that economic development had not kept pace with the growth of population. The Praja Socialist leader maintained that Congress leadership had failed to improve the standard of living of most of

the people, and that "even after ten years of independence poverty was as widespread as before, and unemployment had increased from year to year." The Praja Socialists also made charges of "bribery and corruption in administration," naming some names and specific cases.⁴

The personality of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru played an important part in the election campaign. No other leader in any free country is so revered by so many millions of people. The reverence and affection which the people feel for Nehru naturally makes it difficult for the Opposition parties. Nehru and his daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, conducted a vigorous speaking campaign, especially in those areas where Communism is strong. Nehru's daughter is an attractive woman and a forceful speaker who does not hesitate to make sharp charges against the opposition.

An analysis of the background of the candidates nominated for the *Lok Sabha* by the Congress Party in one state, *Uttar Pradesh*, revealed a predominance of lawyers, with business men and landlords next in order. Lawyers were likewise in the majority among the Praja Socialist and Jana Sangh candidates. The Socialists showed a higher percentage of teachers, journalists, social workers, and some trade unionists. Even the Socialists tended to nominate candidates who were prepared to defray their own election expenses. In general, the candidates of all three parties tended to represent the white collar, professional or middle or upper class in the community. There is no doubt that consideration of caste and religion played a significant part in the choice of candidates. If, for example, a particular caste predominated in a certain constituency, then a person belonging to that caste was given the nomination. The Congress Party candidates generally were from ten to fifteen years older than the others, reflecting the previous years of participation in the independence movement. There were few women candidates in any of the parties.

As was anticipated, the Congress Party

won a majority of the seats in the *Lok Sabha* and in the state legislatures. The Congress majorities, however, were appreciably less than in the previous general election of 1952. In some areas party leaders of long-standing prominence suffered defeat at the polls. The decline in Congress strength was interpreted in public statements by Mr. Nehru as a warning that the Party had lost touch with the people, that it was out of contact with more recent trends in popular opinion, and that too many of the Congress leaders had been inclined to rest on past accomplishments. Editorial and other explanations of the voting generally agreed with Mr. Nehru's interpretation and noted in particular that some Congress leaders had not been active in practical politics as in former years, nor as intimately concerned with the masses and their problems. In summary, the Congress Party no longer rested upon the broad democratic base that was once the source of its large majorities.

Another result worth noting was the success of various independent candidates who managed to defeat Congress nominees. The success of these independents was to some extent related to their ability to capitalize on current local issues and the strong feelings connected with these issues. The independents in these instances were, admittedly, closer to the masses and more aware of the intensity of popular attitudes.

The Communists, on a nation wide basis, won a relatively small percentage of the vote. They elected approximately fifteen per cent of the total membership of the state legislatures, and 25 members to the *Lok Sabha*. In the state of Kerala in South India, however, the Communists and their allies won a majority of the seats in the legislature, and a Communist government is now in power in that state. As the *Times of India* observed, for the first time anywhere in the world a Communist Party won control of a government through peaceful and democratic means. As evidenced by comments in newspapers and journals of opinion, the Western world seemed more disturbed than

the Indians by the Communist victory in Kerala. For one thing, under the centralized system of government established by the Indian Constitution, the states have rather limited powers. The Communist government in Kerala will not be able to carry through any far-reaching economic or political measures without the approval of the government in New Delhi. Editorial opinion in India has therefore predicted continuous strife between the central and the state government. In spite of constitutional barriers, however, the Communists inaugurated their government with enthusiastic promises of such measures as "nationalization of all foreign-owned tea plantations" and "appointment of all teachers, including those in private Christian missionary schools, from panels prepared by local committees," which, it was expected, would be dominated by Communists.

The Communist vote in the 1957 election provides continuing reason for concern for the Congress Party leadership. The Communists placed more candidates in the field than in the first general election of 1952, nominating 141 persons for seats in the national parliament, over twice as many as in 1952. The Communist Party is particularly strong in two areas, the South Indian state of Kerala, part of which was formerly known as Travancore-Cochin, and in West Bengal. West Bengal, with Calcutta as its center, suffers from severe unemployment and economic deprivation, largely because of the influx of millions of Hindu refugees from East Pakistan. The refugees have presented an enormous problem for the government, which has made heroic efforts to rehabilitate and resettle as many of them as possible. On the outskirts of Calcutta it is a grim sight to see these unfortunates, living in mud-hut settlements and barely subsisting from day to day. Some of them have been kept alive by food supplies sent from the United States through such charitable and welfare organizations as CARE. The misery in which the refugees live has fostered a fertile field for Communism.

It is more difficult to understand why Communism should be so strong in the southern state of Kerala. This section of India has the highest literacy rate, the highest educational standards, and the largest number of Christians. Why do so many Indians of this type vote Communist? There is serious unemployment in Kerala, and Congress Party leadership has tended to be weak. But, such problems are found in other sections of India as well as in Kerala. The answer given by some Indian students of politics is that because the people of Kerala have higher standards and greater expectation in life, they resent all the more deeply the unemployment and poverty prevalent in their area. There is no strong Opposition Party except the Communists, and so they vote Communist as a form of protest against the status quo and the dominant Congress Party.

The Communist Party has at least two large headquarters in Delhi and New Delhi. They have great quantities of low-priced or free literature, printed in English, Hindi, and the various regional languages. A large neon sign on the main street from Old Delhi to New Delhi proclaims: "Read Soviet books and periodicals." A typical magazine, printed in English, is *Soviet Woman*, which sells for four and a half rupees a year. The Pacific editions of American magazines such as *Time* or *Newsweek*, in contrast, cost approximately 40 to 60 rupees a year. Naturally, few Indians can afford to buy the latter. The anti-Russian rebellion in Hungary had little impact on the Indian masses. First of all, since the majority could not read, they knew nothing of these events. Furthermore, the newspapers devoted considerably less space to the rebellion in Hungary than to the English and French attack on Suez.

The Communists concentrated in their campaign arguments on denunciation of the Congress Party record, alleging an alliance between the leaders and big business, and charging that re-election of the Congress would mean domination by American and British capitalism in the economic and politi-

cal spheres. Some of the Communist candidates appeared before their audiences clothed in rags, their hair and garments rumpled and dirty, in an effort to identify themselves with the masses.

The Communists have drawn their strength chiefly from workers in organized industries, from lower middle-class white collar workers, from the intelligentsia, and from students. In recent years many thousands of students have flocked to the universities, seeking degrees which will qualify them for white-collar or professional positions. Most of them hope to work for the government, which operates so much of the economic activity of the country. But the number of university graduates is much larger than the number of positions open each year. The "educated unemployed," therefore, constitute a continuing source of unrest and dissatisfaction. In their bitterness, they turn to the Communists. They look admiringly at the example of China, where the frustrated and unemployed intellectuals were taken into the Communist Party and given positions of leadership.

Some of the Communist success at the polls can be attributed to their capitalization of local issues. The hostility of linguistic and religious minorities, crop failures in certain areas, the closing of local factories, unemployment in refugee centers, regional food shortages — all were abundantly exploited. It may be said that where the Communist vote was strong, it was due not so much to attachment to Communist ideology or devotion to the Party principles as to hostilities and frustrations rooted in local discontent and suffering. Thus, the problem of Communist political strength in India is not yet general or national in scope, but concentrated in certain areas where local conditions have engendered deep dissatisfaction.

¹ See *The Times of India*, March 10, 1957, p. 4.

² *The Times of India*, March 12, 1957, p. 2.

³ *The Statesman*, March 6, 1957, p. 2.

⁴ *The Hindustani Standard*, March 8 and 9, 1957.

The Evaluation of Citizenship

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Possibly one of the most difficult problems the typical teacher faces is the evaluation of the complex curriculum known as the social studies. Involved in the evaluation of this subject are not only objective criteria such as grades and arithmetic levels of achievement, but also the large element of subjectivity. The subjective characters of the evaluation may very well take a wide variety of forms. The introduction of subjective evaluations has unfortunately been largely neglected by most writers in this particular field.

Cummings states that, "The growth of evaluation has been one of the major achievements in American education during the last two decades. Evaluation of citizenship education has been a part of that movement. In general, broad objectives have been agreed upon, and evaluation has been an attempt to discover to what extent these objectives are being reached."¹

However, research in evaluation discloses that Cumming's statement is subject to some question. Other writers such as Otto contend, "Unfortunately most current efforts at evaluation of instruction in the social studies are restricted to methods of appraising what children have learned in social studies without also examining and appraising the transfer of these learnings, or of some of them, to the events of everyday living."²

Undoubtedly Otto has more particularly appreciated the difficulties involved in the evaluation of the social studies than has been indicated in the rather broad generalization of Cummings.

The social studies encompass a diverse categorization of individual subjects which can be interrelated into a meaningful whole.

The subjects included in the social studies have come to mean, "those portions of history, geography, civics, and other social sciences that are selected for use in teaching."³ In addition the term in many areas also includes, "... the social sciences, art, literature, music, and even some phases of science."⁴ The ultimate goal of the social studies is directed toward generating and improving individual student citizenship.

"Progress in the social studies should be evaluated in terms of the teaching objectives. Instruction in the social studies for the purpose of developing:

Responsible, sensitive, and courageous citizens who will participate intelligently in the solving of problems growing out of their own human relationships and of problems facing society.

Accurate knowledge of man and society.

Informed insight into man and society.

Those skills essential to acquiring knowledge and insight.

Loyalty to social ideals that forward the dignity of individual men and the brotherhood of all men.

Ability to apply knowledge, insight, skill, and loyalty to daily living.

Familiarity with urgent social problems such as the dangerous spread between mechanical and social invention, provincial nationalism that blocks progress toward "one world," the confusion between education and propaganda, and wastefulness in the use of natural resources.

Personality traits in the child through meeting his needs for exploration, muscle activity, social activity, imaginative activity, and recognition as an individual."⁵

"It is evident that evaluation of progress toward such goals will require a broader base than recitations and tests."⁶

The development of an evaluation technique of the social studies subjects is the major objective of this paper. Evaluation consists of the determination of the level of achievement, appreciation, understanding, and accomplishment on the part of the student. As previously indicated, a series of objective criteria is satisfactory but by no means completely indicative as an attainment measure.

"Evaluation includes measurement but it extends far beyond the areas to which objective measurements have been applied."⁷

An attempt to develop subjective criteria for evaluation is presented which will prove more revealing and significant to the teacher for purposes of more fully ascertaining the true level of achievement on the part of the student.

A brief presentation of some past and unfortunately existing evaluation procedures may well be in order so that a highlighting of current defects can be indicated. Generally speaking a separatist treatment of each of the individual subjects in the broad social studies field has prevailed. Recent advances indicate that a fusionism of these many subjects into a coordinated whole develops a better and more integrated appreciation on the part of the student.⁸

Antediluvian conceptualizations which are largely disappearing from the scene stressed regimentation, rote learning, and memorization of factual data to an extreme degree. Obvious defects in such methodology have been recognized and attempts to correct them have been introduced through the idea of integration or fusionistic philosophies. Obvious defects developed from these conceptualizations which were primarily manifest in the form of lack of student interest, inability to evaluate the overall impact of the several subjects, questionable value to the student, and, in all probability, a complete lack of recall on the part of the student after the passage of a very short period of time.

Presently the trend toward integration of the social studies presents an attempt to

counteract the disadvantages inherent in classical doctrines. Most advanced present thought appears to be centered on the philosophy of making the social studies significant, meaningful, and developing better and more informed citizens. These latter developments are definitely worthy of praise as being forward steps in attaining the before-mentioned objectives. However, concurrent with the new philosophy is introduced the problem to which this paper is devoted, namely, that of evaluation. It is admitted that evaluation under classical dogma practices was a much simpler and more objective procedure.

However, evaluation of the social studies under our new integrated and fusionistic teaching methodology does present some extremely complex and, as previously indicated, undeveloped evaluation problems.

Questions such as: How do we weigh the increase or decrease in individual student citizenship? How do we evaluate the impact of integrated social studies on making the student a more understanding and better member of society? What percentage should we assign to a student's grade for the positive factor which could be generated out of a well developed social studies program, namely a reduction in racial discrimination? When do we know, and what percentage should be given to a student's grade to indicate his achievement of attitudes which are socially harmonious? What grade is assignable to evidences of maturity and ability on the part of the student to appreciate contemporary social structures?

Questions such as these introduce the before-mentioned subjective evaluation factors. No objective type of examination can ever possibly reveal a representative answer to any of the foregoing questions. It can be appreciated that the classical methodology previously indicated is helpless in generating a meaningful answer to any of these questions. From a review of the brief foregoing discussions it appears that the elimination of subjective factors from the grading of social studies achievement is quite impossible. A concentration or a misdirection of

emphasis on objective factors will only develop nonrepresentation and probably misleading results.

Evaluation is therefore divisible into subjective and objective grading elements. The objective elements have been classified by several authorities in this field.

Otto mentions that, "In some schools teachers have become so 'measurement conscious' that they have discarded the use of teacher observation as a means of identifying children's problems and noting children's development. In such schools little attention is paid to any information or evidence which cannot be classified, tabulated, and treated statistically. Measurement has an important place in educational work, but so does teacher observation of pupil behavior and performance."⁹

The Association of Social Studies Teachers of the City of New York reveals that, "Any analysis of examinations currently in use in the social studies would reveal an emphasis on the testing of the mastery of information. Since there is universal acceptance of the wider objectives in teaching to include not only information but also skills and attitudes, an undisputed answer to the query, 'What to Test?' should be that examinations must test all the objectives of teaching, information, skills, and attitudes.

The following factors should be considered in order to develop skills and attitudes:

1. Reading and interpretation of graphs.
2. Map making and reading.
3. Use of reference materials.
4. Participation in panel discussions, debates, etc.
5. Writing dramatizations, diaries, etc.
6. Observations as a result of trips.
7. Making of poster, cartoons, graphs, etc. to illustrate some phase of the subject matter.
8. Prepare materials for visual exhibit.
9. Preparing outlines and presenting reports.
10. Ability to analyze material being presented with one's own knowledge.
11. Develop the ability to listen to a speaker and determine what to listen for.
12. Ability to make and take notes for later reference and study."¹⁰

"The most outstanding limitation of standardized as well as teacher-made tests is the lack of attention given to the measurement of understanding of concepts and generalizations."¹¹

"... observation of behavior and evaluation in any area becomes difficult without some normative frame of reference and some reasonably objective or tangible criteria."¹²

"Evaluation of the social studies program should be carried on as continuously and persistently as evaluation of the child's learning. In fact, the appraisal of outcomes of learning experiences in the social studies inevitably leads to evaluation of the program. Such evaluation, however, is sometimes neglected because comprehensive criteria are not used."¹³

"Factual tests are easier to make, easier to score, and, in a sense, easier to defend than any other type of test."¹⁴

Subjective ascertainment levels are not as easily identifiable as indicated in the quotes from the above authorities. The subjective evaluation is founded on the interpretative and analytical talents of the grader. Answers to the previously developed questions can only be developed in the light of three basic criteria.

First the student has to demonstrate that he comprehends the basic factual material in the social studies group. Indication of this comprehension ability is developed through the criteria of tests and examination. This first component of the overall evaluation process is objective in nature.

Subjectivity is introduced in the second and third components in the form of personal judgment. The second and third components of the subjective evaluation process are namely, the application of the learned material and finally a measure of consistency in the application itself.

Individual observation will demonstrate whether or not the student is applying the principles for which he has demonstrated comprehension. The application is demonstrable in a variety of forms. For instance, a student may well be able to correctly

answer an examination question such as: Is racial segregation basically undemocratic? Comprehension is demonstrated here. However, the examination answer is not entirely indicative of the final degree of citizenship possessed by the student. Observation of the student in his social environment and contact with others will reveal whether or not a satisfactory degree of comprehension exists.

The point being developed here is that the individual observation of the teacher directed toward uncovering evidences of application or nonapplication is necessary before the ascertainment of a grade can be realistically developed.

The third component of our subjective criteria, namely consistency, is more or less self-explanatory. The comprehension of factual data and its subsequent degree of application has to be consistently applied before a proper evaluation can be determined. A student correctly saying that racial segregation is undemocratic and applying the principle in his social activities must demonstrate a level and degree of consistency before a grader could rank him in the highest stratum of a particular group.

Thus it can be seen that a subjective evaluation incorporates not only objective but also subjective measures which require individual observation. The ultimate goal is to develop better citizens through the consistent application of basic teachings associated in the social studies group.

A selection of three cases with which the writer has had experience is presented in order to further clarify the subjective evaluation technique.

Case A

John, a boy of 12 years of age, demonstrated exceptionally high ability in every examination. His grades in all subjects were A's. He was never absent or late, personable, and at all times a neatly dressed individual. Unfortunately, John was unable to play with other children. He was quite egotistical and the offspring of an extremely wealthy family. Observation revealed that he was extremely class and

race conscious, and although a brilliant student, quite unable to get along with any of the other students in the school. He refused to enter into any group activities, would not talk to or associate with any of the other students. He further demonstrated an obnoxious and a superior attitude because of his rather high academic achievements.

This particular case, although far from being typical, is well illustrative of the subjective evaluation that would be involved in determining a grade for citizenship. John received a grade of F in citizenship because he significantly failed to qualify under the subjective components, application and consistency. John knew his work but never applied it and never demonstrated any consistency with respect to such application.

Case B

Mary, 10 years of age, came from a middle class family. Her grades were average. She demonstrated no great ability as an academician yet showed an ability to comprehend subject material of her course work. Observation indicated Mary to be an exceptionally talented and gregarious person. She took part in practically every social activity. She was well liked by her classmates and might be described as a "Popular girl."

Mary received a grade of A in citizenship primarily because observation revealed that she was consistently applying the evidences of her comprehension of social studies course work.

This case shows again the departure from classical dogma in that although being an average student in social studies, she manifested the ability of applying, and applying consistently, the factual information she obtained in her social studies exposure.

Case C

Peter, age 11, was an exceptionally poor student in every respect. He came from an underprivileged family of 2 brothers and 4 sisters. This large family was crowded in a small development home where space was at a premium. His parents were irre-

sponsible. Although he demonstrated mental capabilities in several instances, he was definitely unable to achieve satisfactory grades because of his adverse home environment. Peter, however, did show evidence of extreme degrees of leadership, popularity, and gregariousness in all of his contacts with fellow students.

This case is indicative of the other extreme wherein a child unable to achieve satisfactory grades did excel in citizenship because of his consistency and application of factual material.

Preston suggests the following, "... ways in which teachers may collect information which is necessary for comprehensive evaluation of progress.

1. Observation of Pupil Behavior.
2. Inspection of Children's Work.
3. Study of Results of Teacher-Made Tests. Many teachers have found that it is better to have frequent short tests than infrequent long ones. . . . Objective tests with true-or-false items or multiple-choice items are also suitable and should be occasionally given. . . . Teacher-constructed tests should be corrected and returned to the pupils for discussion. Test results are properly kept as part of the pupil's record.
4. Study of Results of Standardized Tests."¹⁵

From these cases and the previous discussion certain generalizations can now be developed:

1. The principal purpose of the social studies is to develop better citizens.
2. Objective tests do not reveal citizenship qualities, they merely present evidence

indicating memorizational ability.

3. Subjective observation is required in order to evaluate and determine citizenship qualities.
4. Subjective observation is directed toward determining the extent and degree in which a student consistently applies the overall philosophy of the social studies.
5. Evaluation skills can be developed in the teacher through exposure and observation of students in their play, classroom participation, and school environmental situation.

¹ Howard H. Cummings, "Evaluation of Citizenship Education," *Education for Democratic Citizenship, Twenty-second Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies*, 1951, Chapter X, p. 108.

² Henry J. Otto, *Social Education in Elementary Schools*, (Rinehart & Co., Inc., N. Y. 1956) p. 465.

³ Ralph C. Preston, *Teaching Social Studies in the Elementary School*, (Rinehart & Co., N. Y., 1956) p. 3.

⁴ W. B. Brown, "A New Approach to the Social Studies," *Social Studies*, 27:12-17, 1936, p. 12.

⁵ Preston, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

⁶ Preston, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

⁷ Edgar Bruce Wesley, *Teaching the Social Studies*, (D. C. Heath and Co., Boston, 1942) p. 551.

⁸ See Irene A. Hubin, "The Fusion of Social Studies in the Elementary School," *The Social Studies*, March, 1957, pp. 93-97.

⁹ Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 472.

¹⁰ The Association of Social Studies Teachers of the City of New York, "A Handbook for Social Studies Teaching," Republic Book Co., N. Y., 1951, p. 170-171.

¹¹ Harl R. Douglass and Herbert F. Spitzer, "The Importance of Teaching for Understanding," in *The Measurement of Understanding (Forty-fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946)* p. 21.

¹² Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 483.

¹³ John U. Michaelis, *Social Studies for Children in a Democracy*, (Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1956) p. 428.

¹⁴ Cummings, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

¹⁵ Preston, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-296, 298.

Meet Our Congressmen

ELIZABETH BEALE

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As they entered the classroom, the American history students eyed the piles of paper-backed books on their desks with some concern. What dull things were those? When the class came to order I took pains to reassure them.

"At first glance these books probably appear to you about as interesting as a telephone directory," I began, "but once you get inside them you will discover some very unusual material. By special arrangement with our school librarian each of you has on

your desk a copy of the *Congressional Record* in which the daily proceedings of Congress are recorded. Every day that Congress is in session each Congressman finds a copy of the *Record* on his desk. In it is printed a report of the preceding day's business. We will spend the entire class period today reading in the *Congressional Record*."

"I want you to browse through your copy to see the kind of subject matter that is discussed from day to day in sessions of the Senate and the House of Representatives. Then choose and read a speech which appeals to you. After you have read it, jot down on a sheet of paper the name of the speaker, the subject of the speech, the date it was given, and the page length. Then in a few words give your own reaction to the speech. For example, how are you impressed by the speaker's reasoning? Does it seem logical? Do you agree or disagree with his viewpoint? Does he use formal or informal language to express his ideas? Does he use humor? You may exchange copies with each other as you read, if you wish, and you will also enjoy quietly sharing with each other items of special interest you may find. At the end of the hour I will collect your notes. Since the speeches vary in length I will not expect a uniform number to be read by all of you. Some of you may read five rather lengthy speeches, others of you may read eight or nine shorter ones."

After these instructions, the books were opened and pages turned, at first, in some bewilderment. A number of students needed my help to locate the beginning of a speech or to find the title. Others needed assistance in skimming the pages to find a speech of interest to them. Gradually they became absorbed in reading and I began to hear exclamations:

"Well! I didn't know they talked to each other in Congress like this!"

"Say, this is good! This 'gentleman from Indiana' knows how to use real oratory!" (This from the appreciative speech student.)

"Of all things! Here's some poetry — and such satire!" Pat and Micky mirthfully

share with each other a representative's recital of unexpected humorous verse. Various groups over the room began sharing excerpts with each other, often with chuckling and laughter.

"This is real wit!"

"Could I subscribe to the *Record*?"

"Could I buy other copies of it?"

Finding speeches about their various interests — aviation, the army, schools, farming problems, conservation, — the students started to take the notes as instructed at the beginning of the class period.

A few moments before the end of the hour I announced to the class, "By special permission from our librarian I am able to offer you these back numbers of the *Congressional Record* to keep. Please do not ask for one if you do not feel you would have any use for it, as the supply is limited. But I will be glad to reserve copies for those who would like them. They are to be used by other classes so I will ask you to come back to this room after school to get your reserved copy."

Hands were quickly raised all over the room. "Be sure to reserve this particular copy for me, please."

"I can use some of this for speech class."

"There's something here I can use in a theme I'm writing."

By the end of the day seventy-five or more issues were "reserved" and handed out after school hours. As I watched the students leave my room, genuinely enthusiastic over their new possession, I was sure that something unexpectedly valuable had happened that day. The *Congressional Record* had "come alive" for my history classes. I realized that most of them needed supervised introduction to the *Record* before being asked to do general library reading in it. With help, the students had learned how to use it. They had also discovered that Congressmen carry on government business in a very human way. Some of the mature students were pleased to find forensic ability in many of the speeches. From now on, they would all know an unfailing source of live information on government problems.

The privilege of informally sharing their discoveries with each other during the class period had given zest to their classroom experience of meeting our Congressmen at work. And a little salesmanship psychology on the part of the teacher had resulted in an

unexpected "consumer demand" for an article they did not even dream they would want at the beginning of that school day. They had learned how to use the *Congressional Record* and they had learned why it was worth using.

Some Contrasts Between Soviet and American Education

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In the course of some recent reading in comparative education, with particular reference to the United States and the Soviet Union, the writer was impressed by the large amount of material which has been published. He was also impressed by the absence of any classification scheme into which analyses of similarities and differences could be fitted, in order to specify their contributions to the whole pattern. This paper is planned to formulate such a scheme.

Eight areas of differences have been identified. The two points of view found in each area cannot be considered a dichotomy, since they are probably points on a continuum, but for ease of treatment they will be discussed as if they do constitute a dichotomy. Before considering these eight areas, it is necessary to consider one difference which underlies all others; it is stated best in the following quotation:¹

Basically the difference between education in the USSR and in the USA is the difference between a land in which there is only one philosophy and one in which many and even conflicting philosophies are not only possible but do exist.

Let us, then, examine the consequences of this basic difference.

1. *Control: centralization vs. local autonomy.* On the level of general education in the Soviet Union, comprising grades 1-10 which

correspond to the American elementary and secondary schools, this centralization is indirect.² The Ministry of Education for each of the sixteen constituent republics is officially the final educational authority for education in that republic, but in effect all sixteen ministries are controlled and coordinated by the School Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. In the United States the local school board is officially, and almost entirely, the final educational authority. Accreditation requirements, college entrance requirements, and, in some places, state examination requirements exert an advisory influence but the school board retains authority to make decisions. One may also note that American school boards are composed of educational laymen while Soviet ministerial staffs are presumably professional.

Higher education in the Soviet Union takes two general forms. The Ministry of Higher Education of the U.S.S.R. administers the thirty-one universities and the approximately 300 institutes which offer training in such areas as technology, agriculture, and forestry.³ There are about 500 additional institutes offering college-level work which are administered by interested ministries of the U.S.S.R. or of the constituent republics. These include medical and pedagogical institutes.

American universities, institutes, conservatories, colleges, and junior colleges are sponsored by a variety of institutions, governments, and even individuals. Accreditation is the major coercion which is brought to bear upon them, and if this challenge is accepted and met, their responsibilities lie only toward themselves and their sponsor, which may be city, state, federal government, church, or private corporation.

2. *Structure: uniformity vs. variation.* In the Soviet Union, a by-product of centralized control is uniformity in the structure of the educational program. All of the sixteen constituent republics have identical organizations. Pre-school education begins with the kindergartens for children aged three through six. There are four grades in the primary school for children aged seven through ten. The incomplete secondary school has grades five through seven for children aged eleven through thirteen and the complete secondary school also has grades eight through ten for children aged fourteen through sixteen. The typical graduate is seventeen years old. University education is organized around twelve faculties but only the University of Moscow has all twelve; the other thirty universities have various numbers and combinations of the faculties.⁴

In the United States, the school board decides the extent and organization of the school, whether it will be an 8-4 or 6-3-3 pattern, whether a kindergarten will be provided or not, whether the district will support a high school or not, and whether or not given courses will be included in the curriculum. Such uniformity as we find has its origin in convenience, tradition, and in college entrance requirements. The organization of higher education also has its roots in tradition and in the need to fulfil degree granting requirements, but the curriculum organization is a matter of independent decision.

3. *Function: conformity vs. independence.* For the purpose of this exposition, function means the actual execution of the school's

program. In the Soviet Union, conformity is the rule. The same detailed curriculum is used in each comparable school to the extent that at the same hour of the same school day of the year, the same subject is being taught in all classes of the same grade. No variations are permitted.⁵

In comparison, American schools take pride in the independence permitted each echelon of organization, down to the individual teacher who can, in many cases, conduct his class in a manner entirely different from that of his colleague across the hall.

In Soviet higher education, conformity takes an ideological form.⁶ Ideas must be compatible with the Marxist-Leninist philosophy upon which the entire state is built. In view of this criterion of compatibility with ideology, one wonders about initiative, originality, and individual freedom in Soviet educational and academic inquiry. Unfortunately it is impossible, at this time, to get an unbiased report on the matter, but one can make inferences from such phenomena as the unanimous rejection by Soviet educators of the principles of individual differences in rate and extent of human development and their unanimous opinion that the use of intelligence tests does not serve the best interests of the nation.⁷

In the United States, ideological freedom, called academic freedom, is cherished by college teachers as one of their most important rights. Nothing inspires them to more unity and effort than a threat to their freedom of inquiry into truth. Within limits, most people accord this right to college teachers, accepting it as a prerequisite to advancement in both the humanities and the sciences.

4. *Change: organization vs. development.* Change is inevitable in any modern educational system. Changes in both Soviet and American educational practices have been dramatic. In America, changes have been characterized by developments in educational philosophy which are followed by experimental uses of new methods, organizations, and curricula in a number of schools.

These are reported in educational literature, studied, adapted to new locations and conditions, tried, and evaluated again. Some are demonstrably valuable and are absorbed into our educational programs, others may be rejected in whole or in part. The process is a continuous one.

In the Soviet Union, changes are abrupt and complete. All the schools are involved. Consider the most radical period of Soviet education, which lasted from 1921 to 1931.⁸ During this time the mastery of knowledge was subordinated to the political education of young people and to the capture of the schools by the Communist Party. There were no textbooks, no single assignments, no individual responsibility, no fixed class or teacher, no marks, and no failures.⁹ In 1932 this policy was quite suddenly and completely changed; in a few months the old system was gone and the essentials of present-day Soviet education were established. This was due to no philosophical change; the old methods had served their purpose and were replaced by others which would accomplish educational aims more efficiently under changed circumstances.

5. *Purpose: social utility vs. individual development.* Differences in this area are not as profound as one might expect. Each society seeks to perpetuate itself through education, although influence in the Soviet Union is direct and influence in the United States is indirect. American education strives to develop individuality and independence in order to produce a person with a maximum of initiative, responsibility, and decision.¹⁰ The American ideal is a person whose enlightened self-interest causes him to act in such a manner that he will profit and, as a by-product of his activity, others will also profit.

The original purpose of Soviet education was to develop the revolutionary man.¹¹ This was accomplished, as noted in section 4, and remains a continued purpose of Soviet education. Observers have noted the sense of mission, purposiveness, and personal responsibility which Soviet education gives to

its pupils. Counts reports that the goal of Soviet moral education is the all around and harmonious development of personality.¹² Soviet education seems to combine the goals of personal development and responsibility to the state in a manner that most Americans would regard as unacceptable because the Soviet conception of responsibility to the state would, for us, preclude the full development of individuality. What the American regards as his citizenship responsibilities are only a fraction of the Soviet citizen's outright obligation to his country, as he is taught in the schools.

6. *Conception: broad vs. narrow.* Americans regard education as a function of the schools, with perhaps a small part devolving upon the church. Actually, of course, we are educated in many other ways, planned for certain purposes, but not coordinated in any way. In contrast, Soviet education is much broader in conception and practice.¹³ The entire cultural apparatus becomes a part of the educational program, including, as well as the schools, the press, radio and TV, theaters, circuses, playgrounds, clubs, books, and even calendars. There is no conflict here, such as we in the United States experience, because centralized control of the society makes it possible to direct the work of all these agencies into one channel, namely, making better citizens for the Soviet Union, making sure their ideas are correct and their beliefs strong. We in America may be educated by what we read, hear, and see outside of school, but there is no coordinated purpose behind such learning opportunities.

7. *Emphasis: concentration vs. detachment.* This area refers to attitudes toward education. The Soviet leaders recognize the importance of education far more than do the people of the United States. They know that education is "a mighty weapon" in the "cause of Communism"¹⁴ and they have acted on that knowledge. They have neither failed to provide the necessary funds nor hesitated in doing what they can to make Soviet education more effective, and they continue their efforts. They have the ad-

vantage, in this respect, of an authoritarian, monolithic educational, as well as political, system.

In the United States, the improvement of education is a local matter, by wish of the people. Just recently the United States Congress rejected, with the mandate of the people, the so-called Federal Aid to Education bill. We believe that personal freedom and local responsibility cannot be compromised. In fact, if the matter were put to the specific question, it is likely that most people would put the importance of education in second place. It is for this reason that any large-scale overhaul of our educational system, such as that proposed by Paul Woodring¹⁵ in a recent issue of *Life*, can never be accomplished. In the United States, it is only through the unsparing efforts of individuals and groups, consisting of both professional and lay persons, that the stature of education is maintained. The simple task of maintaining communication with independent school boards throughout the nation is a formidable one, but it becomes comparatively insignificant beside the problem of convincing them and their constituents of the vital importance of education in America today.

8. *Opportunity: equal vs. selective.* It smacks of heresy to assert that equal opportunity for education is not available to all young people in the United States, but let us consider a few of the facts that are common knowledge. On the level of public school education we know that some states spend a small fraction of what others do on their public schools, we know that in certain areas Negroes are denied the quality of education given to white children, and we know that population and financial pressures are crowding some of our schools to a fantastic degree. On the college level it is also obvious that it costs money to be a student and, despite the existence of scholarships, many thousands of qualified young men and women are forced by circumstances to undertake remunerative work rather than attend college. There is also, particularly on the east coast, a literal shortage of facilities, espe-

cially on the graduate and professional level.

In the Soviet Union, population pressures also deny education to many; in fact, Soviet education law provides that education is compulsory only through seven grades, because some areas do not have facilities for a complete secondary school. However, since financial responsibility devolves upon the central government, this lack is apparently being corrected as labor and materials become available. It is on the level of higher education that the United States can learn from the Soviet Union. Because it is recognized that educated people can contribute more to society than they could if uneducated, admission to Soviet higher education is by examination or by secondary school record, and is available to all for whom facilities exist. In most cases students are paid a stipend which covers their living expenses; the only limiting factor to their progress is their ability. We have recently become aware of the efficacy of this practice through newspaper comparisons of the number of engineering graduates in the United States and in the Soviet Union.

This has been a very brief formulation of certain contrasts between education in the United States and in the Soviet Union. Certainly we can regard with satisfaction our philosophies and practices in many areas, but Soviet accomplishments in other areas raise questions to which we must find answers which will not compromise our ideals of freedom and responsibility.

¹ Gregory Razran, "Education in the Soviet Union," *Encyclopedia of Modern Education*, eds. H. A. Rivlin and Herbert Schueler (New York: The Philosophical Library, Inc., 1943) p. 855.

² Victor Peters, "Education in the Soviet Union," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 37:421-425, June, 1956, p. 422.

³ Arthur H. Moehlman and Joseph S. Roucek (eds.) *Comparative Education* (New York: Dryden Press, 1951) p. 396.

⁴ Martena T. Sasnett, *Educational Systems of the World* (University of Southern California Press, 1952) pp. 700-706.

⁵ George S. Counts, *The Challenge of Soviet Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1957) pp. 74-79.

⁶ O. Anisimov, "The Soviet System of Education," *Russian Review* 9:87-97, April, 1950, pp. 88-95.

⁷ Sir Ronald Gould, "Russia Revisited," *Phi Delta Kappan* 38:285-287, April, 1957, p. 287.

⁸ Counts, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-74.

⁹ Razan, *op. cit.*, p. 853.

¹⁰ James B. Conant, "Education for Freedom," *Baltimore Bulletin of Education* 27:1-8, June, 1950, p. 5.

¹¹ John L. Childs, "Education and Politics in the

Soviet Union," *Teachers College Record* 58:351-354, April, 1957, p. 352.

¹² Counts, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-8.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

¹⁵ "Reform Plan For Schools," *Life* 43:123-136, September 2, 1957.

The Militia as a Social Outlet in Colonial Massachusetts

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Even a casual perusal of life in seventeenth century Massachusetts gives the reader a definite impression that in the Bay Colony there was little to laugh about. Historians such as Vernon L. Parrington, and masters of literature such as Nathaniel Hawthorne have done little to allay this rather gloomy view. Parrington is scathing in his condemnation of Calvinist severity, and Hawthorne holds his mirror to this supposedly unhappy age by probing the labyrinth of the Puritan conscience.

Much has been written about the Blue Laws, and in military life these laws were certainly matched and over-matched, especially if the Puritan legislators were under the pressure of impending war with the Indians. In King Philip's War six separate categories involving eight possible types of offense were punished with the death penalty. Striking an officer, lifting a weapon against an officer, and resisting an officer all meant death. Equally severe treatment was reserved for offenses such as desertion, murder, and rape, unnatural abuse, and adultery. For the less offensive act of blasphemy the stern fathers prescribed boring the tongue with a hot iron.

Indeed, the legal language of the land gives little evidence that the risible aspects of man's nature were ever permitted to penetrate the impediments to godliness in the form of a good laugh or even an insubordi-

nate snicker. To learn the truth one must depart from the godly good fathers and consult the writings of a visiting Englishman, even though the author's comments smack a little of being designed specifically for publication. John Dunton, in his *Letters Written from New England*, tells us about his experiences as a "greenhorn" in the militia. To quote Mr. Dunton: "I thought a pike was best for a young soldier, and so I carried a pike, and between you and I, reader, there was another reason for it too, and that was, I knew not how to shoot off a musket, but t'was the first time I ever was in arms; which tho' I tell thee, Reader, I had no need to tell my fellow soldiers, for they knew it well enough by my awkward handling of them. For I was unacquainted with the terms of military discipline, as a wild Irish man whom I have heard they used to discipline, at first, by putting bread in one pocket, and cheese in the other and then bidding them turn their bread, and turn to their cheese instead of bidding them turn to the right and left as is usual which they did not understand."

John Dunton had chosen to serve as a pikeman. And well he might have, for, in addition to being expensive, service as a musketeer took the colonial soldier through one of the most fantastic manual of arms known to military science. Whether this manual of arms was ever practiced to any

great extent is not known with certainty. However, even in the operation of the weapon herein described, it seems doubtful if the potential soldier would, after such wonderful and exhaustive manipulations, still have the strength left to exercise crucial rule number forty-three. At the risk of wearying the audience, the count ran as follows: "1. Stand to your arms. 2. Take up your bandoleers. 3. Put on your bandoleers. 4. Take up your match. 5. Place your match. 6. Take up your rest. 7. Put the string of your rest about your left wrist. 8. Take up your musket. 9. Rest your musket. 10. Poise your musket. 11. Shoulder your musket. 12. Unshoulder your musket and poise. 13. Join your rest to the outside of your musket. 14. Open your pan. 15. Clear your pan. 16. Prime your pan. 17. Shut your pan. 18. Cast off your loose corns. 19. Blow off your loose corns and bring about your musket to the left side. 20. Trail your rest. 21. Balance your musket in your left hand. 22. Find out your charge. 23. Open your charge. 24. Charge with powder. 25. Draw forth your scouring stick. 26. Turn and shorten him to an inch. 27. Charge with bullet. 28. Put your scoring stick into your musket. 29. Ram home your charge. 30. Withdraw your scouring stick. 31. Trim and shorten him to a handful. 32. Return your scouring stick. 33. Bring forward your musket and rest. 34. Join your rest to the outside of your musket. 35. Draw forth your match. 36. Blow your coal. 37. Cock your match. 38. Fit your match. 39. Guard your pan. 40. Blow the ashes from your coal. 41. Open your pan. 42. Present upon your rest. 43. Give fire breast high. 44. Dismount your musket joining the rest to the outside of your pan," and so on and on till the fantastic number of fifty-six is reached before the procedure is completed.

The shrewd Dunton had accurately observed an element common to all military experience, the instinctive ability of military men to observe any vestige or clumsiness in a fellow soldier. And Dunton can well be congratulated for his choice of pike service if skills with the musket consistently became

as involved as is indicated in Elton's manual of arms another name for which was "The Compleat Body of Art Military."

However, after the hardships, heat, and jibes of the day had been endured Dunton observed that the entire company of military practicers retired about three o'clock to a delightful dinner prepared for the occasion. Other records indicate that other places of retirement were available to the tired and thirsty militiaman, and the ministers objected vociferously but ineffectually to the troops overimbibing in rum after a dusty day's practice.

The gathering of the Christian armies was on no small scale as is attested in one meeting of one thousand troops at Fox Hill in Boston. Another meeting at Boston is located at "a spacious square level spot of ground below Beacon Hill." A less specific direction indicated that drill should take place at any convenient spot about the Indian wigwams.

For a picturesque description of the gaiety expressed at the militia practice the quaint language of the time paints the following scene: "It (the drill field) contains about forty-five acres and is a fine grazing pasture for the town's cattle. On days of public festivity the militia and the militia corps repair to the common for the purposes of parading and performing their military manoeuvres. On such occasions it is thronged with all ranks of the citizens. The lower classes direct themselves with such postures as suit their particular inclinations. A number of tents or temporary booths are put up, and furnished with food and liquor for those who require refreshment and can pay for it."

Evidence of overimbibing by the citizen-soldiers or the spectators is not overly extensive. At times it is the negative evidence which speaks most eloquently. On training days, which were in many respects a public affair, people who would come to watch the drills, maneuvers, and target practice would take pains to supply themselves with wine, strong liquors, and cider. After a sufficient number of people and a sufficient number of jugs of rum had gathered about the field,

the people, the soldiers, and the Indians proceeded to get a little drunk, and even to commit disorders, and to neglect the duty prescribed by the art military. The result of this, of course, was the passage of legislation which stated that no person shall bring strong liquors without permission of two magistrates or approval of the chief officer in the field. The severity of this blow was lightened with the exception that beer could be sold at a penny a quart. Perhaps as humorous as this backhanded recognition of soldierly and spectator fun is the shrewd Yankee provision for distribution of the spoils when the more severe liquids were seized while in the possession of an unlicensed and unapproved vendor. A fine of five pounds was to be assessed the culprit, and the strong drink was to be divided, half going to the informer and half going to the county treasury. The enforcement of this unhappy law was left to the town constable, and in the centers of population he rated an unspecified number of men to guard him in the execution of his sworn duty. No doubt the guard was a measure of the law's popularity among the general populace.

Albert Bushnell Hart tells us that Commencement, Election Day, and Training Day were the only secular occasions which came anywhere near being general holidays. He goes on to say that of the great public relaxations, the one that combined very stern business with pleasure was the period of spring and fall training. Even though the drills, target practice, and military maneuvers were entered into with great determination and vigor, the holiday spirit could not be repressed.

On the more serious side, the primitive urge to self defense touched even the children of the Bay Colony. An order went out from the General Court that children between the ages of ten and sixteen should be trained in the arts of drill and manipulation of weapons. This training was contingent upon permission of the child's parents. Scotsmen, Negroes, and Indians were likewise ordered to the lists for military drill in 1652.

But four years later, a law was passed stating that Negroes and Indians would no longer be trained or armed.

Perhaps a reflection of the effectiveness of colonial law requiring military service of the citizens was the effort put forth by the indolent and unpatriotic segments of the population in dodging the draft. Normally, extensive impressments could be made only in times of serious emergency. In an attempt to stop drifters who floated from town to town to avoid military service, the Fathers passed a law which stated that a man could not be released from duty in the town in which he was originally enrolled until he displayed a certificate of release under the signature of his former commanding officer. Transients and the unemployed were especially subject to the demands of military service.

Rather than run the risk of fines it was much easier to avoid military duty in one of the several legal methods provided by the laws of Massachusetts. One simple method was to hire a substitute. Another was to engage in one of the exempted professions. A few of these included: magistrates, deputies, and officers of the Court, elders and deacons, the president, fellows, students, and officers of Harvard College, professional school masters, physicians and surgeons, treasurers, the Surveyor General, public notaries, masters of ships and other vessels over twenty tons, fishermen employed in all fishing seasons, constant herdsmen, those with bodily infirmities, one servant of every magistrate and teaching elder, sons and servants of the Major General, also dwellers on remote farms, and those having a ferry to pass. If all else failed, it was possible, under a 1637 law, to bribe two magistrates who could excuse a man from training upon payment of an unspecified sum for the use of the military company.

If many aspects of colonial military life were shunned by the common soldier, the places of command were eagerly sought by a politically articulate group of property holders. At the beginning of the militia's

history a genuine form of democracy existed wherein the soldiers of the company elected their officers. This was no guarantee of high quality leadership, and in time the affirmation of those elected was required of the County Courts. This election privilege was further reduced when the County Courts proceeded to select officers from a list nominated by the men in the company. The final step in an increasingly complex society was reservation of the commissioning privilege by the General Court to itself.

An outgrowth of this strong tendency towards centralization was organization of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, an honorary military organization. Kentucky Colonels are not the only ones who love title and ceremony. The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company was replete with major generals, county majors, loads of captains and commanders of horse, and even some lowly lieutenants. The A. and H. Company had a special holiday called "Anniversary Day" at which some prominent clergyman would preach a sermon. Nor was the A. and H. Company landless. Some one thousand acres were granted to this organi-

zation in 1656 near Concord and Medfield.

The political nature of militia commissions is indicated in some degree by the number of men who, while acting as legislative or executive officers for the colony, bore at the same time a military title. The most common military titles were ensign, lieutenant, and captain. In the legislative branch of the government approximately one-third of the deputies had titles which tended to establish them as militia officers. In the administrative posts of the colony the proportion of title bearers in some years rose to a ratio of one out of two.

An investigation of the literature on seventeenth century Massachusetts indicates that military life played an important role in the affairs of a citizenry which faced the task of clearing the forests of primitive inhabitants and withholding the thrusts of the hated French enemy to the north. However, it isn't really true that the soldiers did not have an occasional chuckle amid draughts of steaming rum. And for the wealthy and well born the military, as always, provided an outlet for additional expression of high station.

The Teachers' Page

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Presidential Leadership

"The Great Issues Lectures" have been an annual event, since 1948, at Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburgh, Pa. Speakers at these lecture series have been members of the College staff and visiting professors. A reproduction of the 1956-1957 series appeared in *The Educational Leader*, October 1, 1957. Professor Alvin H. Proctor, of the Political Science Department of the College, has a short introductory essay on what constitutes a great issue. He uses Archibald MacLeish's concept, namely: a great issue is "one which has historical depth, current timeliness, and projection into the future."

A great issue that falls into the above con-

cept, and which is very timely today, is that concerning presidential leadership.

Two of the four lectures dealt with this subject. The first, "Wilson, Roosevelt (Franklin D.) and Eisenhower, Three Approaches to Leadership," was delivered by Dr. James MacGregor Burns, Professor of Political Science at Williams College and author of the recent biography, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox*. The second lecture, "Presidential Leadership and Andrew Jackson" was given by Dr. Glyndon Van Duesen, professor of history at Rochester and author of several books on American statesmen.¹

The lecture on the three presidents and their approaches to leadership is devoted

mostly to Wilson's type of leadership, although there is, of course, an evaluation of Roosevelt's and Eisenhower's brands of leadership. A very fundamental question pertaining to presidential leadership, particularly as it functions in a democracy such as ours, is posed, by implication, in this lecture: Is it the responsibility of a great leader to be ahead of his people even if they are opposed to what he thinks is right and best for the country? Or should the leader exercise "representative leadership," which is "leadership that pulls together and renders articulate the many voices of the crowd?"

To a large degree, all presidents must be representative leaders. There are times also when a president must be able to compromise. All the presidents, Wilson, Roosevelt, and Eisenhower had exercised representative leadership, but the degree to which each had the "daring," "boldness," "tenacity and conviction" to move ahead of the crowd varies considerably.

President Wilson, according to Dr. Burns, exercised representative leadership during most of his tenure in office, particularly in the areas of domestic policy.

"Wilson's early career as President also shows him as a man reflecting his times, as a man speaking for his people, rather than as a leader moving far ahead of them. His greatness during the first year or two lay in the brilliant fashion in which he welded together his party in carrying through the program behind which the party had won the Presidency and both houses of Congress. . . . Wilson served as a synthesis, or as a catharsis, not as the leader expressing minority opinion moving ahead of the times."

In his later years as president in the area of foreign affairs, Wilson's leadership moved ahead of his party and the men around him.

". . . The striking fact, to my mind, is that the man who had thought about leadership as a representative process and whose leadership had been essentially of the representative type, was now taking a position far in advance of his time, was now acting for a minority and trying to bring the ma-

jority around to his views, was, as he said, acting on behalf not of voters, but of the voteless — the children of America and the whole world."

Unfortunately, in his attempt to have the United States join the League of Nations, he was too far ahead of the people and they could not follow him. Yet, he did not fail — if the effect of his leadership is not measured by what it achieved at the moment, but rather by its ultimate influence. In a sense, Wilson was a martyr to an ideal to which our country returned, and which it was all the more ready to embrace in 1945, when we took the leadership in creating the United Nations.

"Who can say that Wilson failed? . . . Wilson, despite all his personal deficiencies, was able as the man of thought, to carry out the great role of the leader as a representative during the immediate times that demanded it, and then was able to take a new and fateful role as the leader ahead of his times, when people around him fell back into their old complacency, inertia, and shortsightedness. Yes, he was pierced by the thousand arrows of obloquy, but he won the respect and the vindication of history — and what more does the scholar or intellectual demand?"

Franklin D. Roosevelt's particular greatness as a leader came from his astuteness in discerning what the people would be ready to accept, and in his ability and courage in giving voice to what the people felt but could not themselves express. His timing was good in this respect, except once, when he was a little ahead of the people. This occurred in 1937 when he made his famous "quarantine the aggressor" speech in Chicago.

"Roosevelt, in short, moved to the left only when the situation made it possible — he was not one to move far in advance of the main forces; he was not willing to run the risk of being cut off from his main support. This was also true of his foreign policy during his second term. The accusations of those who said that Roosevelt deliberately led us into war have obscured the fact that the

President acted in most cases only when he was sure that he would have enough support; indeed, if we can believe the opinion polls of the time, large segments of the people were often ahead of him in demanding that America take more forceful steps against Hitler. . . ."

On the domestic front — "to do something about what he called the one-third ill-nourished, ill-housed, and ill-clad" — Roosevelt's leadership, according to Dr. Burns, failed. There were still nine million unemployed at the beginning of the war and his pledge to end the depression never came through. Roosevelt's failure, in this respect, argues the author, was due to his attempt to work within the framework of the Democratic party.

"... The crying need of the times was the realignment and modernization of the party. Roosevelt knew this and came back to the problem again and again during his career. But he never put the effort into it that was necessary — he never exerted the kind of long-term leadership that was required. To be sure, he tried to purge some conservative congressmen out of the Senate and House. But this was a badly-planned, last-minute affair — not the kind of systematic effort and dedication and commitment that was necessary.

"Could it be that Roosevelt's leadership — successful though it was in so many respects — would have been even better if he had shown somewhat more daring, somewhat more boldness, somewhat more tenacity and conviction?"

President Eisenhower, according to Dr. Burns, in essence, is also a representative type of leader. However, whereas Wilson and Roosevelt "moved with the progressive-minded majority and hence were able to build programs for the future," Eisenhower does not "have the capacity to lead in this sense. The fact that the Constitution, as of now, bars Mr. Eisenhower from running for a third term is one reason for this. But more than this is "his temperamental dislike for sticking his neck out. . . . his instinct for

compromise. . . . his staff system that is ideal in a period of consolidation but not adapted to a period of crisis."

The lecture on "Presidential Leadership and Andrew Jackson" touches on other aspects of leadership. One brand of leadership which, it is to be hoped, no president ever displays, is that described, according to Professor Van Duesen, by a French politician "who, looking out on the Boulevard des Capucines and seeing a mob go roaring down the street explained, as he seized his hat and stick, 'I am their leader, and so I must follow them.' The other kind, which it is hoped our presidents do possess, consists in blazing a trail and knowing just how far and how fast one may go in this trail-blazing business and at the same time command popular confidence and support."

In his analysis of presidential leadership, Dr. Van Duesen lists three fundamental qualities:

Integrity

Patriotism and humanitarianism

Capacity to take decisive action and the ability to know when to act.

Jackson possessed all three, but they were hindered by certain limitations that were part of his make-up:

"... his lack of what academicians call the discipline engendered by the educational process. . . . If education means anything, it means the training of the mind so that it will reach, with discriminating judgment, to accumulated knowledge, whether that knowledge comes from the remote or the immediate past. Jackson lacked this training."

Other limitations were his egotism and his "violent prejudices," which made him hate England, the Indians, the Whigs, the Second Bank of the United States and a host of individuals. The author describes some of Jackson's "rash judgments" and "vindictive actions" that resulted from these hatreds.

Yet, in spite of these and other limitations, Jackson was a great leader and a great president. Dr. Van Duesen ascribes this greatness, in part, to Jackson's possession of great courage "joined to a quality of firmness,"

and in part to his possession of the following qualities essential to political leadership: a good sense of timing; an unbending devotion to nationalism; and "the greatest asset of all, his interest in the well-being of the common people and his trust in their judgment."

* * * * *

The subject of presidential leadership is always timely and it is especially so today. Writing on leadership and democracy as it pertains to present day issues and problems, Professor Allan Nevins states:²

"In nine instances out of ten, the highest type of democratic leader is made, not born, and he proves his leadership rather in anticipating a crisis than in rising out of one. The cardinal requirements of such a leader may be said to be three. The first is a fine balance of intellect and character—that is, of mental and moral qualities. The second is a laborious cultivation of certain skills, including the skill to measure public opinion. The third is the kind of imagination which creates plans and kindles men with them."

Dr. Nevins does not limit his discussion of democratic leadership to presidents. One of the finest and most successful examples of leadership was that provided by the men who saw the wisdom of arranging the Constitutional Convention and seeing it to conclusion—the adoption of the U. S. Constitution.

"The ultimate nursery of leadership," states Professor Nevins, "is education, and today, above all, higher education." On this subject, the learned historian offers some very timely advice. "The idea that 'leadership' in the national emergency demands a drastic warping of higher education is not only pernicious but dangerously pernicious. In any healthy democracy the humanist has his place alongside the chemist, and the social scientist alongside the mathematical physicist. Even from the standpoint of national defense, this is true. . . . The guided missile is a mighty weapon, but Orwell's '1984,' the weekly publication of which in Warsaw helped herald the 1956 revolt, may sometimes be mightier."

The Democratic Digest

The content analysis of the *Democratic Digest* in the *American Political Science Review* (September, 1957) should be of interest to mature classes in political science. First published in August, 1953, by the National Committee of the Democratic party, *The Democratic Digest* represents a new venture and a new function in communication by one of the two major political parties. The publication is by no means the official mouthpiece of the Democratic party, in the same sense as *Pravda* is related to the Communist Party in Russia. This is so because of the peculiar organizational nature of American political parties. There is no centralized control by the National Committee over state and local committees, nor do any of these committees have absolute control over individual party members. Moreover, once a party ticket is elected, in toto or in part, the elected officials are not subject to the will of the National Committee.

"The role of the National Committee in the political process is still only vaguely defined. The national ticket is nominated by convention, and the presidency is independent of, and ordinarily more powerful than, the national committee after election. The selection and campaign activities of Congressional candidates lie outside National Committee control. . . ."

The publication of *The Democratic Digest* represents, perhaps, an attempt to correct the weakness of the allegiance of the individual party members and elected officials to the National Committee.

The content analysis, as reported by Professor Marz, from a research study conducted at Michigan State University under the direction of Professor Joseph G. La Palombara, is based on eighteen issues of *The Democratic Digest*. Among the matters the article analyzes are such items as the number of original articles and the number of *Digest* articles, news sources of the *Digest* articles, news sources of quotations in the original articles, leading cartoon sources,

leading individuals quoted, and leading organization quote sources. With respect to individuals quoted, it is interesting and significant that "the magazine pays much more attention to Republicans than to Democrats. One hundred thirty-seven Republicans were quoted 725 times, while seventy-nine Democrats rated only 219 quotes; and if we consider only those members of both parties outside Congress, Eisenhower, Dulles, Benson, Nixon, Brownell, and Herbert Hoover were each quoted more frequently than Adlai Stevenson."

Among 106 news issues, the leading ones used by the magazine were:

Newspapers—*New York Times*, *Washington Post and Times Herald*, *Washington Star*, *Dayton Daily News*, *Wall Street Journal*, *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, and the *Christian Science Monitor*.

Magazines—*Time*, *Life*, *Fortune*, *Business Week*, *New Republic*.

Whether the publication of the *Democratic Digest* is the beginning of a permanent venture in communication by one or both national committees is too early to predict. As stated by Professor Marz, it would seem that the need for such a venture is greater for the Democrats than for the Republicans because of the "Republican prejudices of most newspapers and magazines." Perhaps an organ of the "loyal opposition" will become the practice, whether Republican or Democrat, because the party "holding the presidency . . . possesses a position which focuses policy formation and publicity in a manner which the 'outs' cannot match."

¹ The other two lectures were: "Religion in Twentieth Century America," by Dr. T. William Hall, Denver University, and "Automation in the Twentieth Century," by Dr. Charles J. Dellesega, Kansas State Teachers College.

² "What Leadership Means in a Democracy." The *New York Times Magazine*, November 17, 1957.

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These U. S.—and Their Resources.

Pictorial N. A.—Social Study Map of a Great Continent.

Our Pictorial World.

World Atlas. C. S. Hammond and Company (Maplewood, N. J.) has announced a new comprehensive atlas of the world, called *Ambassador World Atlas*. It is 14½ by 11 inches in size, has 416 pages, 326 maps, with 241 in full color. Cost is \$12.50 per copy.

FILMS

Impressions of Japan. 15 min. Sale. United World Films, 1445 Park Ave., New York, New York.

This is a filmed interpretation of William Faulkner's visit to Japan to participate in an American Literature Seminar at Nagano. The camera is used to visualize the narrated quotations from the author's writings with a musical background and shows typical people of Japan, their traditions, and their way of life.

Pursuit of Happiness. 31 min. Sale. United World Films, Inc.

Deals with the first visit of a foreigner to the U. S. and his later reflections. We see ourselves as he does after observing incidents in the lives of a farmer, an auto worker, a shoe factory executive, and a college student.

Atoms for Peace—IV, Scientific Advancement. 19 min. Sale. United World Films, Inc.

Covers the progress that has been made in the production of atomic power, and the use of isotopes in manufacturing and health treatment.

Atoms for Peace—V, Working Together. 21 min. Sale. United World Films, Inc.

Describes regional and international cooperation of scientists and governments in the development of peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Atoms for Peace—VI, Training Men for the Atomic Age. 20 min. Sale. United World Films, Inc.

Explains the training programs in nuclear physics for foreign scientists sponsored by the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission.

Himalayas: Life on the Roof of the World.

22 min. Color. Sale. Atlantis Productions, P.O. Box 46216, Hollywood 36, Calif.

The geological origins of this massive range, its effects upon the climate and peoples of Asia, are all clearly demonstrated. Delightful maps and topographic models round out an amazing film.

Tibetan Traders. 22 min. Color. Sale. Atlantis Productions.

Tells the story of a group of traders who spend their lives in villages at different altitudes, moving from one to the other as the seasons change.

The Amazons: People and Resources of Northern Brazil. B&W. Color. 21 min. Sale/rental. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Wilmette, Ill.

Pictures the river from its upper reaches to the city of Belem. Along the river we watch the amazing changes from primitive tribal life through small villages to the bus-

ting commerce of the seaport.

Age of Discovery. 11 min. Color. Sale. Young America Films, 18 E. 41 St., New York, New York.

Summarizes the many factors leading to the discovery of the New World, and its subsequent exploration.

FILMSTRIPS

Enrichment Filmstrips.—Set three. Six filmstrips in color. Sale. Enrichment Teaching Materials, 246 Fifth Ave., New York 1, New York. Titles are:

"The Explorations of Pere Marquette"

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All filmstrips are in beautiful colors, historically accurate, and very informative. Workmanship of a high nature.

Learning About Maps. Set of 6 filmstrips.

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"Reading Directions in Maps"

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"Locating Places on Maps"

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"Reading Political and Economic Maps"

"Studying an Area through Maps"

This is an excellent series to introduce map study in the upper grades, or junior high school.

Battle for Liberty. Set of 7 filmstrips, and 7 recordings. Sale. Jam Handy Organization, 2821 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit 11, Mich. Titles are:

"The Challenge to Battle"

"Freedom in Civics"

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RECORDINGS

Enrichment Records. New series of records based on the Landmark Books are now

available. Records are non-breakable. 33-1/3 rpm. Sale. Enrichment Teaching Materials, Inc. Titles are:

"The Declaration of Independence"

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"The Bill of Rights"

These records feature dramatic events,

with skilled actors, sound effects, and authentic background music of the period. Workmanship of the discs is of a very fine quality.

The Living Constitution of the U. S. (KR 1001) Sale. 33-1/3 rpm. Kaydan Records.

It dramatizes the story of the Constitution from its origin to the present time.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

Head, Department of Social Studies, Abraham Lincoln High School, Philadelphia, Pa.

Social Problems at Midcentury. By Jessie Bernard. New York: The Dryden Press, 1957. Pp. xi, 654. \$6.00.

It is a rare occasion when a textbook appears that is in any sense "revolutionary." Professor Bernard of Pennsylvania State University has come as near to that point as is possible in the conservative, traditionally-oriented, textbook publishing industry. This volume is a sociology or social problems book at the college level. Social studies teachers will find merit in the provocative approach which presents old as well as emerging human problems in a new light, in the changing context of mid-twentieth century conditions.

The author's thesis is that we must look at the social problems about us with a recognition that there has been a fundamental change in many of the problem phenomena. Problem areas remain but because of the technological revolution problems often need to be considered in the light of an economy of *abundance* rather than in the typical approach of *want*. In other words, the motif of social problems in industrialized countries as ours has altered from one of concern over poverty and survival to one concerned over new forms of human suffering. The author explains in the preface, "The principal form that suffering takes in a context of abundance is not physical pain but anxiety." As modern man seeks answers, security, and

his proper place in evolving society, perspective on his difficulties is best gained from a study of the malfunctions of *role* and *status*. Thus, while medical, psychological, legal and economic aspects of social problems remain and are considered, the key approach in this book is to look at the *stresses* of the age from the viewpoint of the effect upon the individual and his groups and institutions of the radically shifting roles and status relationships which mark the present era.

Just as science and medicine have helped man conquer former scourges only to be confronted by new diseases so in human affairs living improvements have only served to unmask new problems or to reveal latent ones. Thus, for example, "the family" remains a problem area but the characteristic problems are commonly the result of changed patterns of relationships stemming from the abundance of our times. While the author's central thesis does not hold true in anywhere near 100 per cent of the cases—it has been effectively argued that there is little really "new" in the world and that our difficulties are "just the same old things happening to new people"—any thoughtful observation of the current scene brings the realization that frequently the answers of a past generation will not serve to wipe out the anxieties and confusions of the present.

Although the writer considers the typical social pathologies that remain with us, all of

these — addictions, mental handicaps, physical difficulties, and the like — are viewed from the standpoint of abundance, and thus seen in a different and broader light. A great proportion of the book is given over to the non-pathological problems which originate in the functioning of our social system. Here the author covers problems associated with employment, with the aged, with youth, with family, mother, and father roles, with the status of modern women and with ethnic and racial minorities. Recognizing the growing international inter-relationships of many social problems, the last section of the volume is devoted to problems on the world stage, such as population growth and displaced persons.

This book is written in an optimistic tone. The author holds out hope for mankind. Part III of the book is devoted to an analysis of social problems as ethical and moral problems. Different theories and concepts concerning social problems are probed and the author points out the limits within which man, using his intelligence, can resolve and ameliorate the difficulties with which he is beset. For a fresh approach from a new angle this book is recommended to social studies instructors.

RICHARD E. GROSS

Stanford University
Pasadena, California

The Freedom to Read: Perspective and Program. By Richard McKeon, Robert K. Merton and Walter Gellhorn, for The National Book Committee. New York: R. R. Bowker Co., 1957. Pp. viii, 110. \$2.00.

In 1955, a philosopher (McKeon), a sociologist (Merton) and a lawyer (Gellhorn), each eminently distinguished in his own field, were engaged by the National Book Committee, Inc., under a grant from the Fund for the Republic, Inc., to undertake an exploratory inquiry into the theory of censorship. This small booklet is the report of this commission; it illuminates the philosophical, sociological and legal issues at stake, at a

time when abridgements of the freedom to read constitute a particularly serious national problem, and suggest the need for practical, immediate antidotes as well as further research to specific areas.

The authors, concerned primarily with the the problems having their basis in broader problems of censorship regarding books, see problems of individual morality and social action, of freedom and security; "they should be re-examined in the larger context of present-day problems of freedom." (p. 93). While the recommendations here are naturally "against" censorship, the authors point out that it is important to learn more about the whole problem by needed research in three broad classes: (1) studies of the effects of books upon personality and behavior of readers; (2) studies in the social psychology and economics of reading; and (3) studies of the social patterns of attempted and actual restraints upon freedom to read, with particular reference to the social consequences of censorship. (p. 101).

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

University of Bridgeport
Bridgeport, Connecticut

The Crisis Of The Old Order. By Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1957. Pp. 557. \$6.00.

It is not surprising that the author of this study of the years preceding the New Deal also writes of his family vacation travels for the magazine section of a Sunday newspaper. For he writes with a verve and a vividness rare in scholarly historians.

And Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr. is a scholarly historian. Ever since the publication of his Pulitzer Prize-winning *Age of Jackson* this Harvard historian son of a Harvard historian has been writing and making political history. A campaign advisor to Adlai Stevenson and an articulate and forceful thinker who speaks out his convictions on contemporary issues, he is no member of the ivory tower school of historians.

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His affinity for the principles of the Democratic Party is revealed in his obvious admiration for Franklin Roosevelt. While some critics call Roosevelt an opportunist, Schlesinger says, "he had the larger wisdom to resist consistency." While some condemn Roosevelt's failure to outline a specific program during his first campaign for the presidency, Schlesinger credits him with the wisdom of refraining from specific commitments in order to retain freedom of action. The only incident in which the author appears to agree with critics of F.D.R. is in the latter's failure to deal decisively with Mayor Walker following the unsavory Seabury investigation.

Throughout the volume, which is the first of a four-volume study titled "The Age of Roosevelt," Schlesinger reaffirms the continuity of history. The roots of the New Deal are traced in the national consciousness from Teddy Roosevelt's New Nationalism onward. In the mind of young Franklin they were probably being clarified as early as 1912 when he asserted in a public address, "Com-

petition has been shown to be useful up to a point" and "Cooperation must begin where competition leaves off. . . . I have called this new theory the struggle for the liberty of the community rather than the liberty of the individual."

The sense of history is never lacking. Every incident related stands clear and important by itself. At the same time it is revealed as part of the evolving pattern of the times.

The major forces of liberalism and conservatism are kept continuously in focus, as a reminder that each is vitally alive, even while the other is in the saddle. One comes away from this book with the feeling that conservative Republicanism was always on the defensive after 1900, even when it was being returned to office in the persons of Harding and Coolidge and Hoover.

This feeling undoubtedly results from the clarity and vigor with which Schlesinger portrays the robust liberals of the 20's, including such dissenters as George W. Norris, Norman Thomas, Lincoln Steffens, H. L.

Mencken, Louis Brandeis, Stuart Chase, and Thorsten Veblen.

Schlesinger has demonstrated amazing skill as a writer in weaving together the complex threads of conservatism and liberalism and the lives of the leading protagonists to create a most orderly analysis of a uniquely unordered and chaotic period of American history.

This he accomplished partly through the skillful use of the flashback. Roosevelt's inauguration as President is detailed in chapter 1, his nomination at Chicago in chapter 26, and his governorship of New York in chapter 32.

The author uses apt and aphoristic quotations to summarize the essence of an incident or a personality. Warren Harding told William Allen White, "My God-damn friends, they're the ones that keep me walking the floor nights." And to Nicholas Murray Butler he confided, "I am not fit for this office and should never have been here."

Calvin Coolidge's inactivity is epitomized by the comment of the White House usher, "No other president ever slept so much."

Herbert Hoover completed his term in the White House saying, "We are at the end of our rope. There is nothing more we can do."

This volume offers eloquent proof that readability and sound scholarship can be made compatible. The documentation for the scholarship is packed into 53 pages of solid notes at the end of the book.

The final impression created by this book is an inspirational one. Here is portrayed the miracle of a government and a people so wise and so flexible that they came through the valley of the depression crisis without recourse to a Caesar or a Cromwell, a Lenin or a Mussolini, even though such disparate voices as Al Smith and Walter Lipmann in 1932 were calling for a dictator.

This reader is eagerly awaiting the next volume of this serial thriller. The first volume is magnificent historical writing.

DONALD W. ROBINSON

Carlmont High School
Belmont, California

Nine Men. By Fred Rodell. New York:

Random House, 1956. Pp. xii, 338. \$5.00.

As the subtitle states, this is "a political history of the Supreme Court of the United States from 1790 to 1955," as viewed by a Yale law professor. The adjective "political" should be underlined; it is a treatment of the politics of the court's decisions to the exclusion of everything else. It is an extreme application of ye auld "breakfast food theory" of judicial opinions, based on Rodell's thesis that "The constitutional theories of all politicians, including the Supreme Court Justices, are no more than highfaluting ways of arguing for the political ends they are really after." Opinions are "the lawyerly use of precedent and logic to paint a smooth-surfaced verisimilitude of unanswerable argument in defense of decisions actually arrived at for less lofty and more mortal reasons."

This is another piece of scholarly muckraking, similar to the works of Charles Beard. In order to appeal to laymen, Rodell does not deign to footnote, but the contents draw heavily on the familiar works of Charles Warren, Carl Swisher, Gustavus Myers, B. R. Twiss, and Beard. The facts appear reasonably correct, but the interpretation is open to debate.

A "political history" inevitably reflects the writer's feelings and values. Rodell makes no effort at scholarly detachment, but frankly writes a passionate polemic saturated with his political and social values, which are those of an old progressive. His rush and his penchant for clever and forceful expression inevitably produce instances of imprecision and incompleteness which will make some scholars wince. Although he criticizes stereotype thinking, his judgments are the black or white type. The devils are the conservative justices and the interest groups they served from Oliver Ellsworth and John Marshall to the "Four Horsemen of Reaction." The archangels are the band of liberal justices: Samuel Miller, Holmes, Black, Douglas, *et al.* (some latter day justices are not true liberals in Rodell's book).

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One is impressed by Rodell's knowledge of the personnel of the court and their respective interests and values. Striking sections are his critique of Washington's court, his appraisal of Taney, his version of the court's Armageddon in 1937, an excellent analysis of the discordance in the Roosevelt court after 1941. Laymen will be regaled by his sarcastic and brutally frank appraisals of contemporary justices.

The disadvantage of this type of book is that it is such a partial, over-simplified account of the court. The student or lay reader may acquire only a caricature of the court and its functioning. One should not minimize the political role of the court or the influence of pressures and inarticulate major premises, but that is not the complete picture. Judicial decisions are based on other considerations too, and the use of logic and precedents is not entirely spurious. Many cases involve policy questions, which are not so political. The essential and constructive functions of the court are more obscured

than illuminated in this treatment. To coin an expression, a provocative book, fascinating, a strong antidote for idolatry of the court or of the constitution, but standing alone it may convey a misimpression.

HOWARD D. HAMILTON

Indiana State Teachers College
Terre Haute, Indiana

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ARTICLES

"Education: Unfinished Business," by Lewis Paul Todd, *Civic Leader*, Volume 27, Number 6, October 14, 1957.

"What It Takes to be a Queen," by Francis and Katharine Drake, *Reader's Digest*, October, 1957.

"The Atlantic Report: London," *Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1957.

"If a President Collapses," by Beverly Smith, Jr., *The Saturday Evening Post*, March 23, 1957 issue. Five copies free for classroom use. Apply to Educational Bureau, Curtis Publishing Co., Philadelphia 5, Pa.

PAMPHLETS

Profiles in Courage. By John F. Kennedy. Cardinal Edition. Pocket Books Inc.

In this remarkable book the Senator from Massachusetts writes brilliantly about a handful of American statesmen who at crucial times in our history, risked their personal and public lives to do the one thing that seemed in itself right.

Michigan History. Michigan Historical Commission, June 1957. Price \$1.00.

Science and The Social Studies, Howard H. Cummings, Editor.

Twenty-seventh Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies. 1956-1957. National Council for the Social Studies, 1201 16th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Paperbound \$4.00; Clothbound \$5.00.

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Sociology, A Clear and Objective Presentation of the Basic Concepts of Sociology. By Joseph H. Fichter. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1957. Pp. xviii, 450. \$5.00.

Southern Race Progress, The Wavering Color Line. By Thomas J. Woofter. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1957. Pp. xvii, 180. \$3.50.

Samuel Gompers, American Statesman. By Florence Calvert Thorne. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. Pp. xxv, 174. \$3.75.

Crisis in Higher Education. By Charles P. Hogarth. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1957. Pp. ix, 60. \$1.00.

The Slow Learner. Some Educational Principles and Policies. By M. F. Cleugh. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. Pp. xi, 184. \$3.75.

The Honorable Eighty-Eight. By James Barbar. New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1957. Pp. viii, 118. \$2.75.

American Humanism. Its Meaning for World Survival. By Howard Mumford Jones. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957. Pp. iv, 108. \$3.00.

Codetermination. By Abraham Shuchman. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1957. Pp. xviii, 247. \$4.50.

America's Arts and Skills. By the Editors of Life. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1957. Pp. ix, 172. \$13.95.

Reason and Chance in Scientific Discovery. By R. Taton. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. Pp. xii, 171. \$10.00.

Economic Fictions. By Paul K. Crosser. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. Pp. x, 322. \$4.75.

Khrushchev of the Ukraine, A Biography. By Victor Alexandrov. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. Pp. xxx, 216. \$4.75.

Social and Cultural Dynamics. By Pitirim Sorokin. Boston, Massachusetts: Porter Sargent Company, 1957. Pp. xlii, 718. \$7.50.

Fear: Contagion and Conquest. By James Clark Moloney. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. Pp. xiii, 140. \$3.75.

Europe in Review. Edited with introductions by George L. Moose, Rondo E. Caneron, Henry Bertiam Hill, and Michael B. Petrovich. Chicago, Illinois: Rand McNally and Company, 1957. Pp. xlii, 573. \$6.00.

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cally attack the factors of most personal and social problems.

We submit that the public will support any school of educational thought which can meet or surpass these specifications with the majority of its secondary school product; and that it will not be particularly concerned whether the methods used are traditional, progressive, or a synthesis of both.